price 12 s

John Sheeke 1593.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY the Seventh, HENRY the Eighth, EDWARD the Sixth, AND QUEEN MARY.

The First Written by the Right Honourable,

FRANCIS

Lord VERULAM, Viſcount St. ALBAN.

The other Three by the Right Honourable

AND

Right Reverend Father in God,

FRANCIS GODWYN,

Lord Biſhop of HEREFORD.

J

LONDON,

Printed by *W. G.* for *R. Scot*, *T. Baſſet*, *J. Wright*, *R. Chiſwell*, and *J. Edwyn*. M. DC. LXXVI.

C

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGNS

To the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent

P R I N C E,

CHARLES,

Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*,
Earl of *Cheſter*, &c.

It may Pleaſe Your Highneſs,

IN part of my acknowledgment to *Your Highneſs*, I have endeavoured to do *Honour* to the *Memory* of the laſt *King* of *England*, that was *Anceſtour* to the *King* your *Father*, and *Your ſelf*; and was that *King* to whom both *Unions* may in a ſort refer: That of the *Roſes* being in him Conſummate, and that of the *Kingdoms* by him begun. Beſides, his *times* deſerve it. For he was a *Wiſe Man*, and an *Excellent King*; and yet the times were rough, and full of Mutations and rare Accidents. And it is with *Times*, as it is with *Ways*. Some are

more *Up-hill* and *Down-hill*, and ſome are more *Flat* and *Plain*; and the *One* is better for the *Liver*, and the *Other* for the *Writer*. I have not flattered him, but took him to life as well as I could, ſitting ſo far off, and having no better light. It is true, *Your Highneſs* hath a Living Pattern, Incomparable, of the *King* Your *Father*. But it is not amiſs for *You* alſo to ſee one of theſe Ancient Pieces. God preſerve *Your Highneſs*.

Your Highneſs moſt humble

and devoted Servant,

Francis St. *Alban*.

AN

INDEX ALPHABETICAL,

Directing to the moſt Obſervable Paſſages in the enſuing

HISTORY.

A.

AN Accident, in it ſelf trivial, great in effect Pag. 108
Advice deſired from the Parliament 33, 35, 56
Æmulation of the Engliſh *to the* French, *with the reaſons of it* 36
Affability of the King to the City of London 113
Affection of King Henry *to the King of* Spain 61
Affection of the King to his Children 136
Aid deſired by the Duke of Britain 33
Aid ſent to Britain 37
Aiders of Rebels puniſhed 23
Alms-deeds of the King 131
Ambaſſadors to the Pope, 24
into Scotland 25
Ambaſſadors from the French *King* 26
Ambaſſadors in danger in France 31
Ambaſſadors into France 54
Ambition exorbitant in Sir William Stanley 78
Anſwer of the Archduke to the King's Ambaſſadors 74
Appeach of Sir William Stanley 76
Arms of King Henry *ſtill victorious* 133
Arrows of the Corniſhmen, *the length of them* 96
Articles between the King and the Archduke 91
Arthur *Prince married to the Lady* Katherine 116
Arthur *Prince dies at* Ludlow 117
Aton *Caſtle in* Scotland *taken by the Earl of* Surrey 98
Attainted perſons in Parliament, excepted againſt 8
Attaindor and corruption of Blood reacheth not to the Crown ibid. 15
Avarice of King Henry 134
Audley *General of the* Corniſh *Rebels* 93

B.

BAniſhment of Flemings *out of the Kingdom* 74
Battel at Boſworth-*field,* 1
at Stokefield 22
at St. Albans *in* Britain 37
at Bannocksbourn *in* Scotland 42
at Black-heath 96
Behaviour of King Henry *towards his Children* 117
Benevolence to the King for his wars 50
Benevolence, who the firſt Author ibid.
Benevolence aboliſhed by Act of Parl. 58
Benevolence revived by Act of Parliament ibid.
A Benevolence general to the King 123
Birth of Henry *the Eighth* 55
Biſhops, why employed by the King 10
Blood not unrevenged 112, 122
Britain *Dutchy diſtreſſed* 37
Three cauſes of the loſs of the Dutchy of Britain ibid.
Britain *united to* France *by Marriage* 55
Brakenbury *refuſed to murder King* Edward *the two Sons* 111
Broughton *Sir* Thomas, *joyned with the Rebels* 11

The TABLE.

A Bull procured from the Pope by the King, for what causes 24
Bulloign *besieged by King* Henry 63

C.

Cardinal Morton *dieth* 113
Capell *Sir* William *fined* 80,131
Cap of Maintenace from the Pope 101
Ceremony of Marriage new in these parts 48
Chancery, power and description of that Court 38
Clifford *Sir* Robert *flies to* Perkin, 70
revolts to the King 72
Clergy priviledges abridged 39
Christendom enlarged 61
Columbus Christopher *and* Bartholomeus *invite the King to a discovery of the* West Indies 107
Confiscation aimed at by the King 76
Conference between King Henry *and the King of* Castile, *by casualty landing at* Weymouth 128
Conquest, the Title unpleasing to the People, declined by William *the Conqu.* 3
and by the King 5
Conspirators for Perkin 70
Contraction of Prince Henry *and the Lady* Katherine 118
Conditional speech doth not qualifie words of Treason 77
Commissioners into Ireland 79
Commissioners about Trading 91
Coronation of King Henry 7
Coronation of the Queen 24
Counsel, the benefit of good — 25
Counsel, of what sort the French *King used* 32
Counsel of mean men, what and how different from that of Nobles ibid.
Lord Cordes *envy to* England 48
Cottagers but housed Beggars 44

Counterfeits.

Lambert *proclaimed in* Ireland, 15
Crowned at Dublin, 19
taken at Battell, 22
put into the King's Kitchin, ibid.
made the King's Faulconer, ibid.
Duke of York *counterfeit. See* Perkin.
Wilford *another counterfeit, Earl of* Warwick 111
Courage of the Englisn, *when* 37
Court, what Pleas belong to every Court 38
Court of Star-chamber confirmed ibid.
Creations 6
Crown confirmed to King Henry *by Parliament* 7
Cursing of the King's Enemies at Paul's *Cross, a custom of those times* 72,122

D.

DAm, *a Town in* Flanders, *taken by a slight* 59
Lord Daubeny 96
Devices at Prince Arthur's *Marriage* 117
Device of the King to divert Envy 64
Decay of Trade doth punish Merchants 90
Decay of People, how it comes to pass 44
Declaration by Perkin *to the Scottish King* 85
Desires intemperate of Sir William Stanley 78
Dighton, *a murderer of King* Edward's *two Children* 71
Dilemma, *a pleasant one of Bishop* Morton 58
Diligence of the King to heap Treasures 120
Displacing of no Counsellors, nor Servants in all King Henry's *Reign save of one* 138
Dissimulation of the French *King* 29, 30, 49
Dissimulation of King Henry *in pretending War* 56
A Doubt long kept open, and diversly determined, according to the diversity of the times 117
Dowry of Lady Katherine, *how much* 116
Dowry of Lady Margaret *into* Scotland, *how much* 119
Drapery maintained, how 45

Dudley

The TABLE.

Dudley *one of the King's Horſe-leeches* 119
Duke of York *counterfeit. See* Perkin.

E.

Earl of Suffolk *flies into* Flanders, 121
returns 129
Earl of Northumberland *ſlain by the People in collecting the Subſidy ſomewhat harſhly* 40
Earl of Warwick *executed* 111
Earl of Warwick *counterfeit* 13, 110
Earl of Surrey *enters* Scotland 98
Edmund, *a third Son born to King* Henry, *but died* 109
Edward *the Fifth murdered* 85
Envy towards the King, unquenchable; the cauſe of it 111
Envy of the Lord Cordes *to* England 48
Enterview between the King and the King of Caſtile 128
Emblem 94
Empſon, *one of the King's Horſe-leeches* 119
Errours of the French *King in his buſineſs for the Kingdom of* Naples 82
Errours of King Henry, *occaſioning his many troubles* 128
Eſcuage ſervice 92
Eſpials in the Rebels camp 21
Eſpouſals of James *King of* Scotland *and Lady* Margaret 118
Exchanges unlawful, prohibited 40
Exceter *beſieged by* Perkin, 102
the Loyalty of the Town, 103
the Town rewarded with the King's own Sword 105
Execution of
Humphrey Stafford, 12
John a Chamber, *and his fellow-Rebels at* York, 41
Sir James Tyrril, *murderer of King* Edward's *two Sons,* 71
of divers others, 75
Sir William Stanley, 77
Rebels, 79
Perkin's *company,* 81
Audley *and* Corniſh *Rebels,* 96
another counterfeit Earl of Warw. 110
Perkin Warbeck, 111
the Mayor of Cork *and his Son,* ibid.
Earl of Warwick ibid.

F.

Fame ill affected 97
Fame entertained by divers, the reaſons of it 70
Fame neglected by Empſon *and* Dudley 119
Fear, not ſafe to the King 79
Fines 43
Without Fines, Statute to ſell Land 58
Flammock *a Lawyer, a Rebel* 92
Flemings *baniſhed* 75
Flight of King Henry *out of* Britain *into* France, *wherefore* 34
Forfeitures and Confiſcations furniſh the King's wants 9, 17
Forfeitures aimed at 45, 76
Forfeitures upon Penal Laws taken by the King, which was the blot of his times 80
Fortune various 16, 22
Forwardneſs inconſiderate 96
Fox *made Privy Counſellor,* 10
made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, ib.
his providence 98
Free-fiſhing of the Dutch 129
Title to France *renewed by the King in Parliament* 56
Frion *joyns with* Perkin 68
Firſt-fruits 10
In forma Pauperis, *a Law enacted for it* 84

G.

Gabato Sebaſtian *makes a Voyage for Diſcovery* 107
Gordon *Lady* Katherine, *wife to* Perkin 87
Granado *vindicated from the* Moors 60
Guard Yoomen firſt inſtituted 7
Gifts of the French *King to King* Henry's *Counſellors and Souldiers* 64

Gratitude

The TABLE.

Gratitude of the Pope's Legate to King Henry 42

H.

H*Allowed Sword from the Pope* 101
Hatred of the People to the King, with the main reason of it 12
Hearty Acclamations of the People to the King 4
King Henry *his Description*, 133, &c.
his Piety, 1, 60
he hath three Titles to the Kingdom 2
Hereticks provided against, a rare thing in those times 115
Hern, *a Counsellor to* Perkin 101
Hialas, *otherwise* Elias *to* England, *how* 98
Holy War 114
Hopes of gain by War 64
Hostages redeemed by the King 10
Houses of Husbandry to be maintained, to prevent the decay of People 45
Histories, defects in them, what 48

I.

JAmes *the Third, King of* Scotland, *his distress and death* 42
Idols vex God and King Henry 105
John Egremond *Leader of the Rebels* 41
Inclosures, their manifest inconveniencies, and how remedied 44
Ingratitude of Women punished 85
Innovation desired 12
Incense of the People, what 118
Instructions of Lady Margaret *to* Perkin 66
Intercursus Magnus 91
Intercursus Malus ibid. 129
Invectives of Maximilian *against the* French *King* 58
Invectives against the King and Council 79
Improvidence of King Henry *to prevent his troubles* 12, 14
Improvidence of the French 82
Jointure of Lady Katherine, *how much* 117
Jointure of Lady Margaret *in* Scotland, *how much* 119
Joseph *a Rebel* 92
Ireland *favoureth* York *Title* 15
Ireland *receiveth* Simon *the Priest of* Oxford, *with his counterfeit* ibid.
Irish *adhere to* Perkin 68
Jubile at Rome 114
Juno, i. e. *the Lady* Margaret, *so called by the King's friends* 65

K.

KAtherine Gordon Perkin's *Wife, royally entertained by K.* Hen. 104
Kent *loyal to the King* 81, 94
The King the publick Steward 36
Kings, their miseries 50
King of Rakehels, Perkin *so called by King* Henry 103
The King's Skreen, who 92
King of France *Protector of King* Henry *in his trouble* 33
Kingdom of France *restored to its integrity* 25
King of France *buys his Peace of King* Henry 64
King of Scots *enters* England, 87
again 98
Knights of the Bath 75
Knights of Rhodes *elect King* Henry *Protector of the Order* 115

L.

LAncaster *Title condemned by Parliament* 3
Lancaster *House in possession of the Crown for three Descents together* 4
Lambert Simnel. *See Counterfeit*, 13
Laws enacted in Parliament 38
Divers Laws enacted 123
Law charitable enacted 84
A good Law enacted ibid.
A Law of a strange nature 83
A Law against carrying away of Women by violence, the reasons of it 39

Law

The TABLE.

Law of Poynings 79
Laws Penal put in execution 80
A Legate from the Pope, 42
preferred to be Biſhop in England *by King* Henry, ibid.
his gratitude to King Henry ibid.
Lenity of the King abuſed 101
Letters from the King out of France *to the Mayor of* London 64
A Libel 55
Libels, the cauſes of them 79
Libels, the females of Sedition ibid.
Libels, the Authors executed ibid.
A Loan from the City to the King, repaid 46
London *entred by King* Henry *in a cloſe Chariot, wherefore* 5
London *in a tumult becauſe of the Rebels* 95
London *purchaſe Confirmation of their Liberties* 124

M.

Malecontents, their effects 40
Margaret *of* Burgundy *the fountain of all the miſchief to K.* Henry, 18
ſhe entertains the Rebels, 41, 69
ſhe a Juno *to the King*, 65
ſhe inſtructs Perkin 66
Lady Margaret *deſired in Marriage by the* Scottiſh *King* 108
Manufacture forein, how to be kept out 36, 123
Marriage of King Henry *with Lady* Elizabeth, 10
of the French *King with the Ducheſs of* Britain, 55
of Prince Arthur 116
Mart tranſlated to Calice, *the reaſons of it* 74
Maintenance prohibited by Law 38
Merchants of England *received at* Antwerp *with proceſſion and great joy* 91
A memorable Memorandum *of the King* 121
Military power of the Kingdom advanced, how 44
Mills of Empſon *and* Dudley, *what, and the gains they brought in* 124
Mitigations 120
Money, baſtard employments thereof repreſſed 36
Money left at the King's death, how much 132
Morton *made Privy Counſellor*, 10
made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ib.
his Speech to the Parliament 32
Morton's *Fork* 58
Morton *author of the Union of the two Roſes* 114
Moors *expelled* Granado 61
Murmuring 14
Murmurs of the People againſt the King 70
Murther and Manſlaughter, a Law concerning it, in amendment of the common Law 39
Murther of King Edward *the Fifth* 85
Murther of a Commiſſioner for the Subſidy 93

N.

Navigation of the Kingdom, how advanced 45
Neighbour over-potent, dangerous 34
Bad News, the effect thereof in Souldiers 63
Nobility neglected in Council, the ill effects of it 32
Nobility, few of them put to death in King Henry's *time* 134
North, the King's journey thither, for what reaſons 11

O.

Oath of Allegiance taken 9
Oath enforced upon Maximilian *by his Subjects* 46
Oath kept ibid.
Obedience neglected, what follows 42
Firſt Occaſion of a happy Union 109
Obſequies for the French *King, performed in* England ibid.

Obſequies

The TABLE.

Obſequies to Tyrants, what 1
An Ominous anſwer of the King 119
An Ominous Prognoſtick 129
Opinions divers what was to be done with Perkin 105
Orator from the Pope met at London-*Bridge by the Mayor* 101
Order of the Garter ſent to Alphonſo 64
Oſtentation of Religion by the King of Spain 60
Over-merit prejudicial to Sir William Stanley 73
Outlawries how puniſhed 120
Oxford *Earl fined for breach of the Law* 121

P.

Pacificator, King Henry *between the* French *King and Duke of* Britain 32
Pardon proclaimed by the King 9, 11, 16
A Parliament called ſpeedily 7
A Parliament called for two reaſons 33
another 122
Parliaments advice deſired by the King 33, 35, 56
Paſſions contrary in King Henry, *joy and ſorrow, with the reaſons of both* 36
Peace pretended by the French *King* 29
Peace to be deſired, but with two conditions 33
Peace concluded between England *and* France 64
People, how brought to decay, the redreſs of it by the King 44
Penſions given by the King of France 64
A Perſonation ſomewhat ſtrange 65
A great Plague 12
Edward Plantagenet *Son and Heir of* George *Duke of* Clarence 4
Edward Plantagenet *ſhewed to the People* 17
Plantagenet's *Race ended* 195
Perkin Warbeck,
Hiſtory of him, 65
his Parentage, 68
God-ſon to K. Edward *the Fourth,* ibid.
his crafty behaviour, 65, 69
favoured by the French *King,* 68
by him diſcarded, 69
favoured by the Scottiſh *King,* 85
he yieldeth, and is brought to the Court, 106
ſet in the Stocks, 109
executed at Tyburn 111
A Pleaſant paſſage of Prince Arthur 118
Policy to prevent War 26
A point of Policy to defend the Duchy of Britain *againſt the* French 29, 34
Policy of State 26
Pope, ſows ſeeds of War 54
Pope, Ambaſſador to him 24
Poynings *Law in* Ireland 79
Prieſt of Oxford, Simon 13
Pretence of the French *King* 28, 29
Prerogative, how made uſe of 133
Price of Cloth limited 45
Priſoners,
Edward Plantagenet, 4
Prince of Orange *and Duke of* Orleance, 37
Maximilian *by his Subjects* 46
Priviledges of Clergy abridged 39
Priviledges of Sanctuary qualified in three points 24
Proclamation of Perkin, *what effect* 90
Protection for being in the King's ſervice limited 58
Proverb 104
Providence for the future 43

Q.

Queen Dowager 13
incloſed in the Monaſtery of Bermondſey, 16
her variety of Fortune ibid.
Queens Colledge founded in Cambridge 17
Q. Elizabeth *Crowned after two years* 24
Queen Elizabeth's *death* 119

R.

Rebellion of Lord Lovel *and* Staffords 11

Rebellion

Rebellion in Yorkshire 41
Rebellion how to be prevented 35
Rebellion, how frequent in King Henry's *time* 41
Rebellion of the Cornishmen 92
Rebels but half-couraged men 96
Religion abused to serve Policy 122
Remorse of the King for oppression of his People 131
Restitution to be made by the King's Will 132
Return of the King from France 64
Retribution of King Henry *for Treasure received of his Subjects* 43
Revenge divine 1
Revenge of Blood 122
Reward proposed by Perkin 111
Richard *the Third a Tyrant* 1
Richard *slain at* Bosworth-*field*, ibid.
his ignominious Burial, ibid.
murder of his two Nephews, 2
jealous to maintain his Honour and Reputation, ibid.
hopes to win the People by making Laws, ibid.
his Virtues overswayed by his Vices, 2
yet favoured in Yorkshire 40
Riches of King Henry *at his death* 132
Riches of Sir William Stanley 76
Richmond *built, upon what occasion* 106
Riot and Retainers suppressed by Act of Parliament 123
Rome *ever respected by King* Henry 42
A Rumour false, procuring much hatred to the King 12
Rumour false, enquired after to be punished 23
Rumour that the Duke of York *was alive, first of the King's own nourishing* 137

S.

Sanctuary at Colneham *could not protect Traytors* 12
Sanctuary-priviledges qualified by a Bull from the Pope in three points 24
Saturday observed and fancied by King Henry 5, 96
Saying of the King when he heard of Rebels 41
Scottish *men voyded out of* England 58
Service of Escuage 92
Simon *the Priest* 13
Skreens to the King, who 92
A Sleight ingenious, and taking good effect in War 59
Sluce *besieged and taken* ibid.
Soothsayers Prediction mistaken 47
Speeches 32, 49, 53
Speech of the King to Parliament 55
Speech of Perkin 85
Speech conditional doth not qualifie words of Treason 77
Speeches bitter against the King 64
Sparks of Rebellion neglected, dangerous 13
Spies from the King 52
Sprites of what kind, vexed K. Henry 65
Stanley *Sir* William *crowns King* Henry *in the field*, 5
motives of his falling from the King 77
is appeached of Treason, 78
is confined, examined, and confesseth, ibid.
is beheaded, 77
Reasons which alienated the King's affections 78
Star-Chamber Court confirmed in certain cases 38
Star-Camber Court described, what Causes belong to it ibid.
Statute of Non-claim 43
Steward publick, the King 36
Strength of the Cornishmen 96
Spoils of Bosworth-*field* 78
Spoils as water spilt on the ground 97
Subsidy denied by the inhabitants of Yorkshire *and* Durham, *the reason wherefore* 40
Subsidies denied by the Cornishmen 92
Subsidy Commissioner killed 93
Subsidy, how much 91
Swart Martin 19
Sweating Sickness, 6
the manner of the cure of it ibid.
Sweating Sickness, the interpretation the People made of it, 23

T.

The TABLE.

T.

A Tale pleasant concerning the King 137
Terrour among the King's Servants and Subjects 67
Tyrrell Sir James, a murderer of King Edward's two Sons 71
Tyrell executed 122
Thanks of the King to the Parliament 32
Thanksgiving to God for the Victory 1, 23, 24, 61
Three Titles to the Kingdom meet in King Henry 2
Title to France stirred, 54
by the King himself 55
Treasure to be kept in the Kingdom 45
Treasure raised by the King, how 23, 31, 120
Treasure inordinately affected by the King 121
Treasure how increased 124
Treasure left at the King's death, how much 132
Trade, the increase thereof considered 36
Trade in decay pincheth 90
Traytors taken out of Sanctuary 12
Tower the King's lodging, wherefore 75
A Triplicity dangerous 94
Triumph at the Marriage of the Lady Elizabeth to King Henry 10
Truce with Scotland 25
Tyrants, the Obsequies of the People to them 1

V.

Victory wisely husbanded by the French 37
Victory at Black-heath 96
Union of England and Scotland, its first original 98
Voyage of King Henry into France 63
Voyage for Discovery 107
Urswick Ambassador 65
Usury 40

W.

Walsingham Lady vowed to by King Henry 20
Wards wronged 120
War between the French King and the Duke of Britain 30
War, the fame thereof advantagious to King Henry 31
War gainful to the King 91
War pretended to get money 57
War of France ended by a Peace, whereat the Souldiers murmur 64
White Rose of England 69, 104
Wilford counterfeit Earl of Warwick 110
A Wives affection 129
Woodvile voluntarily goes to aid the Duke of Britain 31
Woodvile slain at St. Albans in Britain 62
Wolsey employed by the King 130
Women carried away by violence, a Law enacted against it; the reasons 39
Womens ingratitude punished by Law 84

Y.

Yeomen of the Guard first instituted 7
Yeomanry how maintained 44
York House and Title favoured by the People 3, 12
York Title and Line depressed by King Henry 4, 10
York Title favoured in Ireland 15
Yorkshire and Durham deny to pay the Subsidy 49

THE

THE HISTORY Of the Reign of KING HENRY The SEVENTH.

AFter that *Richard* the Third of that Name, King in Fact only, but Tyrant both in Title and Regiment, and ſo commonly termed and reputed in all times ſince, was by the *Divine Revenge*, favouring the Deſign of an Exil'd man, overthrown and ſlain at *Boſworth-field*: There ſucceeded in the Kingdom the Earl of *Richmond*, thence-forth ſtiled *Henry* the Seventh. The King immediately after the Victory, as one that had been bred under a devout Mother, and was in his nature, a great obſerver of Religious Forms, cauſed *Te Deum Laudamus* to be ſolemnly ſung in the preſence of the whole Army upon the place, and was himſelf with general Applauſe, and great Cries of Joy, in a kind of *Militar Election*, or *Recognition*, ſaluted King. Mean-while the Body of *Richard*, after many Indignities and Reproaches (the *Dirigies* and *Obſequies* of the common People towards *Tyrants*) was obſcurely Buried. For though the King of his Nobleneſs gave charge unto the *Fryers* of *Leiceſter* to ſee an Honourable Interrment to be given to it, yet the *Religious people* themſelves (being not free from the Humours of the *Vulgar*) neglected it; wherein nevertheleſs they did not then incurr any mans blame or Cenſure. No man thinking any Ignominy or Contumely unworthy of him, that had been the Executioner of King *Henry* the Sixth (that innocent Prince) with his own

hands; the Contriver of the death of the Duke of *Clarence*, his Brother; the Murderer of his two *Nephews* (one of them his Lawfull King in the Preſent, and the other in the Future failing of him) and vehemently ſuſpected to have been the Impoiſoner of his Wife, thereby to make vacant his Bed, for a Marriage within the *Degrees forbidden*. And although he were a Prince in Militar Virtue approved, jealous of the Honour of the *Engliſh Nation*, and likewiſe a good *Law-maker*, for the eaſe and ſolace of the common People: yet his Cruelties and Parricides, in the Opinion of all men, weighed down his Virtues and Merits; and in the opinion of Wiſe men, even thoſe Virtues themſelves were conceived to be rather feigned, and *affected* things to ſerve his Ambition, than true *Qualities* ingenrate in his Judgement or Nature. And therefore it was noted by men of great Underſtanding, (who ſeeing his after Acts, looked back upon his former Proceedings) that even in the time of King *Edward* his Brother, he was not without ſecret *Trains* and *Mines* to turn Envy and Hatred upon his Brother's Government; as having an Expectation and a kind of Divination, that the King, by reaſon of his many Diſorders, could not be of long Life, but was like to leave his Sonnes of tender years; and then he knew well, how eaſie a ſtep it was, from the place of a *Protector*, and firſt *Prince* of the *Blood*, to the Crown. And that out of this deep root of Ambition it ſprang, that as well at the Treaty of Peace that paſſed between *Edward* the Fourth, and *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, concluded by Enterview of both Kings at *Piqueny*, as upon all other Occaſions, *Richard* then Duke of *Gloceſter*, ſtood ever upon the ſide of Honour, raiſing his own Reputation to the diſadvantage of the King his Brother, and drawing the eyes of all (ſpecially of the *Nobles* and *Soldiers*) upon himſelf; as if the King by his voluptuous Life and mean Marriage, were become Effeminate, and leſs ſenſible of Honour, and Reaſon of State, than was fit for a King. And as for the Politique and wholeſom *Laws* which were Enacted in his Time, they were interpreted to be but the Brocage of an *Uſurper*, thereby to wooe, and winne the Hearts of the People; as being conſcious to himſelf that the true Obligations of *Soveraignty* in him failed, and were wanting. But King *Henry* in the very entrance of his Reign, and the inſtant of time, when the Kingdom was caſt into his Arms, met with a Point of great difficulty, and knotty to ſolve, able to trouble and confound the Wiſeſt King in the newneſs of his Eſtate; and ſo much the more, becauſe it could not endure a *Deliberation*, but muſt be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his Lot, and concurrent to his Perſon, three ſeveral *Titles* to the Imperial Crown: The firſt, the Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom, by precedent Pact with the Party that brought him in, he was to Marry. The ſecond, the Antient and

and long diſputed Title (both by *Plea* and *Arms*) of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, to which he was Inheritour in his own Perſon. The third, the Title of the *Sword* or *Conqueſt*, for that he came in by Victory of Battel, and that the King in poſſeſſion was ſlain in the field. The firſt of theſe was faireſt, and moſt like to give contentment to the People, who by Two and twenty Years Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, had been fully made capable of the clearneſs of the Title of the *White-Roſe* or Houſe of *York*; and by the milde and plauſible Reign of the ſame King toward his latter time, were become affectionate to that *Line*. But then it lay plain before his Eyes, that if he relyed upon that *Title*, he could be but a King at *Curteſie*, and have rather a *Matrimonial* than a *Regal* Power: the Right remaining in his *Queen*, upon whoſe deceaſe, either with Iſſue, or without Iſſue, he was to give place, and be removed. And though he ſhould obtain by *Parliament* to be continued, yet he knew there was a very great difference between a King that holdeth his Crown by a civil Act of *Eſtates*, and one that holdeth it Originally by the Law of *Nature*, and Deſcent of Blood. Neither wanted there even at that time ſecret Rumors and whiſperings (which afterwards gathered ſtrength, and turned to great Troubles) that the two young Sons of King *Edward* the Fourth, or one of them (which were ſaid to be deſtroyed in the Tower) were not indeed Murthered, but conveyed ſecretly away, and were yet living: which if it had been true, had prevented the Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*. On the other ſide, if he ſtood upon his own Title of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, inherent in his Perſon; he knew it was a Title condemned by *Parliament*, and generally prejudged in the common Opinion of the Realm, and that it tended directly to the Diſ-inheriſon of the Line of *York*, held then the indubiate Heirs of the Crown. So that if he ſhould have no Iſſue by the Lady *Elibabeth*, which ſhould be Deſcendents of the *Double-Line*, then the Ancient flames of Diſcord and Inteſtine Wars, upon the Competition of both Houſes, would again return and revive.

As for *Conqueſt* notwithſtanding, Sir *William Stanly*, after ſome Acclamations of the Soldiers in the Field, had put a Crown of Ornament (which *Richard* wore in the Battel, and was found amongſt the Spoils) upon King *Henry*'s Head, as if there were his chief Title; yet he remembred well upon what Conditions and Agreements he was brought in, and that to claim as *Conqueror*, was to put as well his own Party, as the reſt, into Terrour and Fear; as that which gave him Power of Diſannulling of Laws, and diſpoſing of Mens Fortunes and Eſtates, and the like points of Abſolute Power, being in themſelves ſo harſh and odious, as that *William* himſelf, commonly called the *Conqueror*, however he uſed and exerciſed the Power of a *Conqueror*, to reward his *Normans*, yet he forbare to uſe that Claim in the be-

ginning, but mixed it with a Titulary pretence grounded upon the *Will* and Deſignation of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*. But the King out of the greatneſs of his own mind, preſently caſt the Die, and the Inconveniences appearing unto him on all parts; and knowing there could not be any *Interreign* or ſuſpenſion of Title; and preferring his Affection to his own Line and Blood, and liking that Title beſt which made him independent; and being in his Nature and conſtitution of Mind not very apprehenſive or forecaſting of future Events a-far off, but an Entertainer of Fortune by the Day, reſolved to reſt upon the Title of *Lancaſter* as the *Main*, and to uſe the other two, that of *Marriage*, and that of *Battel*, but as *Supporters*, the one to appeaſe ſecret Diſcontents, and the other to beat down open murmur and diſpute: Not forgetting that the ſame Title of *Lancaſter* had formerly maintained a poſſeſſion of three Deſcents in the Crown, and might have proved a *Perpetuity*, had it not ended in the weakneſs and inability of the laſt Prince. Whereupon the King preſently that very day, being the Two and Twentieth of *Auguſt*, aſſumed the Stile of King in his own name, without mentioning of the Lady *Elizabeth* at all, or any relation thereunto. In which courſe he ever after perſiſted, which did ſpin him a Thread of many Seditions and Troubles. The King full of theſe thoughts, before his departure from *Leiceſter*, diſpatched Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Caſtle of *Sheriff-Hutton* in *Yorkſhire*, where were kept in ſafe Cuſtody by King *Richard*'s commandment, both the Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter of King *Edward*, and *Edward Plantagenet*, Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*. This *Edward* was by the King's Warrant delivered from the Conſtable of the Caſtle to the hand of Sir *Robert Willoughby*; and by him with all ſafety and diligence conveyed to the Tower of *London*, where he was ſhut up *Cloſe-priſoner*. Which Act of the King's (being an Act meerly of Policy and Power) proceeded not ſo much from any apprehenſion he had of Doctor *Shaw*'s Tale at *Paul*'s *Croſs*, for the Baſtarding of *Edward* the Fourth's Iſſues, in which caſe this young Gentleman was to ſucceed, (for that Fable was ever exploded) but upon a ſetled diſpoſition to depreſs all Eminent Perſons of the Line of *York*. Wherein ſtill the King out of ſtrength of Will, or weakneſs of Judgement, did uſe to ſhew a little more of the *Party*, than of the *King*.

For the Lady *Elizabeth* ſhe received alſo a direction to repair with all convenient ſpeed to *London*, and there to remain with the Queen *Dowager* her Mother; which accordingly ſhe ſoon after did, accompanied with many *Noble-men* and *Ladies* of Honour. In the mean ſeaſon the King ſet forwards by eaſie Journeys to the City of *London*, receiving the Acclamations and Applauſes of the People as he went, which indeed were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very Demonſtrations and fulneſs of the Cry.

Cry. For they thought generally that he was a *Prince* as ordained and ſent down from Heaven, to unite and put to an end to the long Diſſentions of the two Houſes, which although they had had in the times of *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Fifth, and a part of *Henry* the Sixth on the one ſide, and the times of *Edward* the Fourth on the other, *Lucid-Intervalls* and happy Pauſes; yet they did ever hang over the *Kingdom*, ready to break forth into new Perturbations and Calamities. And as his Victory gave him the *Knee*, ſo his purpoſe of Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth* gave him the *Heart*; ſo that both *Knee* and *Heart* did truly bow before him.

He on the other ſide, with great Wiſdom, (not ignorant of the Affections and Fears of the People) to diſperſe the conceit and terrour of a *Conqueſt*, had given Order that there ſhould be nothing in his Journey like unto a Warlike March, or manner: but rather like unto the *Progreſs* of a King in full Peace and Aſſurance.

He entred the City upon a *Saturday*, as he had alſo obtained the Victory upon a *Saturday*, which Day of the Week firſt upon an Obſervation, and after upon Memory and Fancy, he accounted and choſe as a Day proſperous unto him.

The *Mayor* and *Companies* of the City received him at *Shoreditch*: whence, with great and Honorable attendance and troops of Noble-men, and Perſons of Quality he entred the City; himſelf not being on Horſe-back, or in any open *Chair*, or *Throne*, but in a cloſe *Chariot*, as one that having been ſometimes an Enemy to the whole State, and a Proſcribed perſon, choſe rather to keep State, and ſtrike a Reverence into the People, than to fawn upon them.

He went firſt into Saint *Paul*'s Church, where not meaning that the People ſhould forget too ſoon that he came in by Battel, he made an Offertory of his *Standards*, and had Orizon and *Te Deum* again ſung, and went to his Lodging prepared in the *Biſhop of London*'s *Palace*, where he ſtayed for a time.

During his abode there, he Aſſembled his *Council*, and other principal Perſons, in preſence of whom, he did renew again his promiſe to marry with the Lady *Elizabeth*. This he did the rather, becauſe having at his coming out of *Britain* given artificially, for ſerving of his own turn, ſome hopes, in caſe he obtained the Kingdome, to Marry *Anne* Inheritreſs to the Dutchy of *Britain*, whom *Charles* the Eighth of *France* ſoon after Married. It bred ſome doubt and ſuſpition amongſt divers, that he was not ſincere, or at leaſt not fixed in going on with the Match of *England* ſo much deſired: which Conceit alſo, though it were but Talk and Diſcourſe, did much afflict the poor Lady *Elizabeth* her ſelf. But howſoever he both truly intended it, and deſired alſo it ſhould be ſo believed, (the better to extinguiſh Envy

Envy and Contradiction to his other purposes) yet was he resolved in himself not to proceed to the Consummation thereof, till his *Coronation* and a *Parliament* were past. The one, lest a joynt-*Coronation* of himself and his *Queen* might give any countenance of Participation of Title: The other, lest in the Intayling of the *Crown* to himself, which he hoped to obtain by *Parliament*, the Votes of the *Parliament* might any ways reflect upon her.

About this time in *Autumn*, towards the end of *September*, there began and reigned in the City and other parts of the Kingdom a *Disease* then new; which of the Accidents, and manner thereof, they called the *Sweating-Sickness*. This Disease had a swift course both in the *Sick-Body* and in the *Time* and Period of the lasting thereof: for they that were taken with it, upon Four and twenty Hours escaping were thought almost assured. And as to the *Time* of the malice and reign of the Disease e're it ceased; It began about the One and twentieth of *September*, and cleared up before the end of *October*, insomuch that it was no hinderance to the King's *Coronation*, which was the last of *October:* nor (which was more) to the holding of the *Parliament*, which began but seven days after. It was a *Pestilent-Feaver*, but, as it seemeth, not seated in the Veins or Humors, for that there followed no *Carbuncle*, no purple or livid Spots, or the like, the Mass of the Body being not tainted: only a malign *Vapour* flew to the Heart, and seised the Vital *Spirits*; which stirred Nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme Sweat. And it appeared by Experience that this Disease was rather a Surprize of Nature, than obstinate to Remedies, if it were in time looked unto. For if the *Patient* were kept in an equal temper, both for Clothes, Fire, and Drink, moderately warm, with temperate Cordials, whereby Natures work were neither irritated by *Heat*, nor turned back by *Cold*, he commonly Recovered. But infinite Persons dyed suddenly of it, before the manner of the Cure and attendance was known. It was conceived not to be an *Epidemick* Disease, but to proceed from a Malignity in the Constitution of the Air, gathered by the predispositions of Seasons: and the speedy Cessation declared as much.

On *Simon* and *Jude*'s Even the King dined with *Thomas Bourcchier*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* and *Cardinal:* and from *Lambeth* went by Land over the Bridge to the Tower, where the morrow after he made Twelve *Knights-Bannerets*. But for *Creations* he dispensed them with a sparing Hand. For notwithstanding a Field so lately fought, and a *Coronation* so near at hand, he only created Three: *James* Earl of *Pembrook* (the King's Uncle) was created Duke of *Bedford*; *Thomas* the Lord *Stanley* (the King's Father-in-Law) Earl of *Derby*; and *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devon*; though the King had then nevertheless a purpose in himself to make more in time of *Parliament*; bearing a wise and decent respect

reſpect to Diſtribute his *Creations*, ſome to honour his *Coronation*, and ſome his *Parliament*.

The *Coronation* followed two days after upon the Thirtyeth day of *October* in the year of our Lord 1485. At which time *Innocent* the Eighth was *Pope* of *Rome*, *Frederick* the Third, *Emperour* of *Almaine*; and *Maximilian* his Son newly choſen King of the *Romans*; *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*; *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, Kings of *Spain*; and *James* the Third, King of *Scotland*: with all which Kings and States, the King was at that time in good Peace and Amity. At which Day alſo (as if the Crown upon his Head, had put Perils into his Thoughts) he did inſtitute for the better Security of his Perſon a Band of Fifty *Archers* under a *Captain* to attend him, by the name of *Yeomen* of his *Guard*: and yet that it might be thought to be rather a matter of *Dignity*, after the imitation of that he had known abroad, than any matter of *Diffidence* appropriate to his own Caſe, he made it to be underſtood for an *Ordinance* not Temporary, but to hold in Succeſſion for ever after.

The Seventh of *November* the King held his *Parliament* at *Weſtmiſter*, which he had Summoned immediately after his coming to *London*. His Ends in calling a *Parliament* (and that ſo ſpeedily) were chiefly three; *Firſt*, to procure the Crown to be entayled upon himſelf. *Next*, to have the Attaindors of all of his Party (which were in no ſmall Number) reverſed, and all Acts of Hoſtility by them done in his Quarrel, remitted and diſcharged: and on the other ſide, to attaint by *Parliament*, the *Heads* and *Principals* of his Enemies. The *Third*, to calm and quiet the fears of the reſt of that Party by a *General Pardon*: not being ignorant in how great danger a King ſtands from his Subjects, when moſt of his Subjects are conſcious in themſelves, that they ſtand in his danger. Unto theſe three ſpecial Motives of a *Parliament* was added, that he as a prudent and moderate *Prince*, made this Judgement; That it was fit for him to haſten to let his People ſee, that he meant to govern by *Law*, howſoever he came in by the *Sword*: and fit alſo to reclaim them to know him for their *King*, whom they had ſo lately talked of as an *Enemy* or *Baniſhed man*. For that which concerned the Entayling of the *Crown*; (more than that he was true in his own Will, that he would not endure any mention of the Lady *Elizabeth*: no not in the nature of *Special-Intail*,) he carried it otherwiſe with great Wiſdom and meaſure. For he did not preſs to have the *Act* penned by way of *Declaration* or *Recognition* of Right: as on the other ſide, he avoided to have it by new *Law* or *Ordinance*; but choſe rather a kind of middle-way, by way of *Eſtabliſhment*, and that under covert and indifferent words; *That the inheritance of the Crown ſhould reſt, remain, and abide in the King*, &c. which words might equally be applied; That the Crown ſhould continue

to

to him: but whether as having former Right to it, (which was doubtful,) or having it then in Fact and Poſſeſſion, (which no man denyed,) was left fair to Interpretation either way. And again for the limitation of the *Entail*, he did not preſs it to go further than to himſelf and to the *Heirs* of his Body, not ſpeaking of his *right Heirs*; but leaving that to the Law to decide: ſo as the Entail might ſeem rather a perſonal Favour to him and his Children, than a total Diſ-inheriſon to the Houſe of *York*. And in this form was the Law drawn and paſſed. Which *Statute* he procured to be confirmed by the *Pope*'s *Bull* the year following, with mention nevertheleſs (by way of Recital) of his other Titles; both of *Deſcent* and *Conqueſt*. So as now the wreath of *Three* was made a wreath of *Five*, for to the three firſt Titles of the two Houſes, or Lines, and Conqueſt, were added two more; the Authorities *Parliamentary* and *Papal*.

The King likewiſe in the *Reverſal* of the Attaindors of his *Partakers*, and diſcharging them of all Offences incident to his ſervice and ſuccour, had his Will: and Acts did paſs accordingly. In the paſſage whereof, exception was taken to divers Perſons in the Houſe of *Commons*, for that they were Attainted, and thereby not legal, nor habilitate to ſerve in *Parliament*, being diſabled in the higheſt degree; And that it ſhould be a great incongruity to have them to make *Laws*, who themſelves were not *Inlawed*. The truth was, that divers of thoſe which had in the time of King *Richard* been ſtrongeſt and moſt declared for the King's Party, were returned *Knights* and *Burgeſſes* for the *Parliament*, whether by care or recommendation from the *State*, or the voluntary inclination of the *People*: many of which had been by *Richard* the Third attainted by *Outlawries*, or otherwiſe. The King was ſomewhat troubled with this. For though it had a grave and ſpecious Shew, yet it reflected upon his Party. But wiſely not ſhewing himſelf at all moved therewith, he would not underſtand it but as a *Caſe* of *Law*; and wiſhed the *Judges* to be adviſed thereupon: who for that purpoſe were forthwith Aſſembled in the *Exchequer-Chamber*, (which is the *Council-Chamber* of the *Judges*,) and upon deliberation they gave a grave and ſafe *Opinion* and *Advice*, mixed with *Law* and *Convenience*; which was, That the *Knights* and *Burgeſſes* attainted by the courſe of Law, ſhould forbear to come into the Houſe, 'till a Law were paſſed for the Reverſal of their *Attaindors*.

It was at that time incidently moved amongſt the *Judges* in their Conſultation, what ſhould be done for the King himſelf, who likewiſe was attainted; But it was with unanimous conſent Reſolved; *That the Crown takes away all defects and ſtops in Blood: and that from the time the King did aſſume the Crown, the Fountain was cleared, and all Attaindors and Corruption of Blood diſcharged.* But nevertheleſs for *Honours* ſake it was Ordained by *Parliament*, that

that all *Records* wherein there was any memory, or mention of the King's *Attaindor*, ſhould be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the *File*.

But on the part of the King's *Enemies* there were by *Parliament* attainted; the late Duke of *Gloceſter*, calling himſelf *Richard* the Third, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey*, Viſcount *Lovel*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Zouch*, *Richard Ratcliff*, *William Catesby*, and many others of degree and quality. In which Bills of *Attaindors*, nevertheleſs there were contained many juſt and temperate *Clauſes*, *Savings* and *Proviſo's*, well ſhewing and foretokening the Wiſdom, Stay, and Moderation of the King's Spirit of Government. And for the *Pardon* of the reſt, that had ſtood againſt the King; the King, upon a ſecond advice, thought it not fit it ſhould paſs by *Parliament*, the better (being matter of Grace) to impropriate the Thanks to himſelf: uſing only the Opportunity of a *Parliament* time, the better to diſperſe it into the *Veins* of the *Kingdom*. Therefore during the *Parliament*, he Publiſhed his *Royal Proclamation*, offering *Pardon* and *Grace* of Reſtitution, to all ſuch as had taken *Arms*, or been participant of any Attempts againſt him; ſo as they ſubmitted themſelves to his Mercy by a Day, and took the Oath of *Allegiance* and *Fidelity* to him. Whereupon many came out of *Sanctuary*, and many more came out of *Fear*, no leſs guilty than thoſe that had taken *Sanctuary*.

As for *Money* or *Treaſure*; the King thought it not ſeaſonable, or fit to demand any of his *Subjects* at this *Parliament*: both becauſe he had received ſatisfaction from them in matters of ſo great Importance, and becauſe he could not remunerate them with any *General Pardon*, being prevented therein by the *Coronation-Pardon*, paſſed immediately before: but chiefly, for that it was in every mans Eye, what great *Forfeitures* and *Confiſcations* he had at that preſent to help himſelf: Whereby thoſe *Caſualties* of the Crown might in reaſon ſpare the Purſes of his Subjects; eſpecially in a time when he was in Peace with all his Neighbours. Some few *Laws* paſſed at that *Parliament*, almoſt for form ſake: amongſt which there was *One*, to reduce Aliens, being made Denizens, to pay Strangers Cuſtoms; and another, to draw to himſelf the *Seiſures* and *Compoſitions* of *Italian Goods*, for not employment, being Points of Profit to his Coffers, whereof from the very Beginning he was not forgetful; and had been more happy at the Latter End, if his early Providence (which kept him from all neceſſity of Exacting upon his People) could likewiſe have attemp'red his nature therein. He added during *Parliament*, to his former *Creations*, the *Innoblement* or Advancement in *Nobility* of a few others: The Lord *Chandos* of *Britain*, was made Earl of *Bath*; and Sir *Giles Dawbeny* was made Lord *Dawbeny*; and Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brook*.

The King did alſo with great Nobleneſs and Bounty (which Virtues at that time had their turns in his Nature) reſtore *Edward Stafford* (eldeſt Son to *Henry*, Duke of *Buckingham*, attainted in the time of King *Richard*,) not only to his *Dignities*, but to his *Fortunes* and *Poſſeſſions*, which were great; to which he was moved alſo by a kind of Gratitude, for that the Duke was the man that moved the firſt Stone againſt the Tyranny of King *Richard*, and indeed made the King a Bridge to the Crown upon his own Ruins. Thus the *Parliament* brake up.

The *Parliament* being diſſolved, the King ſent forthwith Money to redeem the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and Sir *John Bourchier*, whom he had left as his Pledges at *Paris*, for Money which he had borrowed, when he made his Expedition for *England*. And thereupon he took a fit occaſion to ſend the Lord *Treaſurer* and Maſter *Bray* (whom he uſed as Counſellor) to the Lord *Mayor* of *London*, requiring of the City a Preſt of ſix thouſand Marks: But after many *Parlees*, he could obtain but two thouſand Pounds. Which nevertheleſs the King took in good part; as men uſe to do, that practiſe to borrow Money when they have no need. About this time, the King called unto his Privy-Council, *John Morton*, and *Richard Fox*, the one *Biſhop* of *Ely*, the other *Biſhop* of *Exceter*, vigilant men, and ſecret, and ſuch as kept watch with him almoſt upon all men elſe. They had been both verſed in his Affairs before he came to the Crown, and were partakers of his adverſe Fortune. This *Morton* ſoon after upon the death of *Bourchier*, he made *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*. And for *Fox*, he made him Lord *Keeper* of his *Privy-Seal*, and afterwards advanced him by Degrees, from *Exceter* to *Bath* and *Wells*, thence to *Durham*, and laſt to *Wincheſter*. For although the King loved to employ and advance *Biſhops*, becauſe having rich *Biſhopricks* they carried their Reward upon themſelves: yet he did uſe to raiſe them by ſteps; that he might not loſe the profit of the *Firſt-fruits*, which by that courſe of Gradation was multiplied.

At laſt, upon the Eighteenth of *January* was Solemnized the ſo long expected and ſo much deſired Marriage, between the King and the Lady *Elizabeth:* which Day of Marriage was celebrated with greater Triumph, and Demonſtrations (eſpecially on the Peoples part) of Joy and Gladneſs, than the days either of his Entry, or Coronation; which the King rather noted, than liked. And it is true, that all his life time, while the Lady *Elizabeth* lived with him, (for ſhe dyed before him) he ſhewed himſelf no very indulgent Husband towards her, though ſhe was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful. But his averſion towards the Houſe of *York* was ſo predominant in him, as it found place, not only in his *Wars* and *Councils*, but in his *Chamber* and *Bed*.

Towards the middle of the *Spring*, the King, full of confidence and

and aſſurance, as a *Prince* that had been Victorious in *Battel*, and had prevailed with his *Parliament* in all that he deſired, and had the *Ring* of *Acclamations* freſh in his Ears, thought the reſt of his Reign ſhould be but Play, and the enjoying of a *Kingdom*. Yet as a wiſe and watchful King, he would not neglect any thing for his Safety; thinking nevertheleſs to perform all things now, rather as an *Exerciſe*, than as a *Labour*. So he being truly informed, that the *Northern parts* were not only Affectionate to the Houſe of *York*, but particularly had been Devoted to King *Richard* the Third, thought it would be a Summer well ſpent to viſit thoſe *Parts*, and by his preſence and application of himſelf, to reclaim and rectifie thoſe Humours. But the King, in his accompt of *Peace*, and *Calms*, did much overcaſt his Fortunes, which proved for many Years together full of *Broken Seas*, *Tides*, and *Tempeſts*. For he was no ſooner come to *Lincoln*, where he kept his *Eaſter*, but he received news, that the Lord *Lovel*, *Humphrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* (who had formerly taken *Sanctuary* at *Colcheſter*) were departed out of *Sanctuary*, but to what place, no man could tell. Which advertiſement, the King deſpiſed, and continued his Journey to *York*. At *York* there came freſh and more certain advertiſement, that the Lord *Lovel* was at hand with a great power of men, and that the *Staffords* were in Arms in *Worceſterſhire*, and had made their approaches to the City of *Worceſter*, to aſſail it. The King, as a Prince of great and profound Judgement, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a Ragg or Remnant of *Boſworth-Field*, and had nothing in it of the main Party of the Houſe of *York*. But he was more doubtful of the raiſing of Forces to reſiſt the *Rebels*, than of the Reſiſtance it ſelf; for that he was in a *Core* of People, whoſe affections he ſuſpected. But the Action enduring no delay, he did ſpeedily levy and ſent againſt the Lord *Lovel* to the number of three thouſand men, ill armed, but well aſſured, (being taken ſome few out of his own Train, and the reſt out of the Tenants and Followers of ſuch as were ſafe to be truſted,) under the Conduct of the Duke of *Bedford*. And as his manner was to ſend his Pardons rather before the Sword than after, he gave *Commiſſion* to the *Duke*, to proclaim Pardon to all that would come in: Which the *Duke*, upon his approach to the Lord *Lovel*'s Camp, did perform. And it fell out as the King expected; the *Heralds* were the *Great-Ordnance*. For the Lord *Lovel*, upon Proclamation of Pardon, miſtruſting his men, fled into *Lancaſhire*, and lurking for a time with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, after ſailed over into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret*. And his men, forſaken of their *Captain*, did preſently ſubmit themſelves to the *Duke*. The *Staffords* likewiſe, and their Forces, hearing what had happened to the Lord *Lovel* (in whoſe Succeſs their chief Truſt was) deſpaired, and diſperſed.

The two Brothers, taking *Sanctuary* at *Colnham*, a Village near *Abington*; which Place, upon view of their *Priviledge* in the King's Bench, being judged no ſufficient *Sanctuary* for Traytors, *Humphrey* was Executed at *Tyburn*; and *Thomas*, as being led by his elder Brother, was Pardoned. So this *Rebellion* proved but a Blaſt; and the King having by this Journey purged a little the Dregs and Leaven of the *Northern People*, that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to *London*.

In *September* following, the *Queen* was delivered of her firſt Son, whom the King (in Honour of the *Britiſh-Race*, of which himſelf was) named *Arthur*, according to the Name of that ancient worthy King of the *Britains*; in whoſe Acts there is truth enough to make him Famous, beſides that which is Fabulous. The *Child* was ſtrong and able, though he was Born in the *eighth Month*, which Phyſicians do prejudge.

THere followed this Year, being the *Second* of the King's Reign, a ſtrange Accident of *State*, whereof the Relations which we have, are ſo naked, as they leave it ſcarce credible; not for the nature of it, (for it hath fallen out oft,) but for the manner and circumſtance of it, eſpecially in the beginnings. Therefore we ſhall make our Judgement upon the things themſelves; as they give light one to another, and (as we can) dig *Truth* out of the *Mine*. The King was green in his Eſtate; and contrary to his own Opinion, and Deſert both, was not without much Hatred throughout the *Realm*. The root of all, was the diſcountenancing of the Houſe of *York*, which the general Body of the *Realm* ſtill affected. This did alienate the Hearts of the *Subjects* from him dayly more and more, eſpecially when they ſaw, that after his Marriage, and after a Son born, the King did nevertheleſs not ſo much as proceed to the *Coronation* of the *Queen*, not vouchſafing her the Honour of a *Matrimonial Crown*; for the *Coronation* of Her was not 'till almoſt two Years after, when Danger had taught him what to do. But much more, when it was ſpread abroad (whether by *Errour*, or the cunning of *Male-contents*) that the King had a purpoſe to put to death *Edward Plantagenet* cloſely in the Tower: Whoſe caſe was ſo neerly parallel'd with that of *Edward* the Fourth's Children, in reſpect of the blood, like age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refreſh and reflect upon the King a moſt odious reſemblance, as if he would be another King *Richard*. And all this time it was ſtill whiſpered every where, that at leaſt one of the Children of *Edward* the Fourth was living. Which Bruit was cunningly fomented by ſuch as deſired *Innovation*. Neither was the King's nature and cuſtoms greatly fit to diſperſe theſe *Miſts*; but contrary-wiſe he had a faſhion rather to create Doubts, than Aſſurance. Thus was *Fuel* prepared for the *Spark*: the

the *Spark* that afterwards kindled ſuch a Fire, and Combuſtion, was at the firſt contemptible.

There was a ſubtil Prieſt called *Richard Simon*, that lived in *Oxford*, and had to his Pupil a *Baker*'s Son named *Lambert Simnel*, of the age of ſome Fifteen years; a comely Youth, and well-favoured, not without ſome extraordinary dignity and grace of Aſpect. It came into this Prieſt's fancy (hearing what men talked, and in hope to raiſe himſelf to ſome great *Biſhoprick*,) to cauſe this *Lad* to counterfeit and Perſonate the ſecond Son of *Edward* the Fourth, ſuppoſed to be murthered; and afterward (for he changed his intention in the manage) the Lord *Edward Plantagenet* then Priſoner in the Tower, and accordingly to frame him and inſtruct him in the Part he was to play. This is that which (as was touched before) ſeemeth ſcarcely credible: Not that a falſe Perſon ſhould be aſſumed to gain a *Kingdom*, for it hath been ſeen in antient and late times; nor that it ſhould come into the mind of ſuch an abject Fellow, to enterpriſe ſo great a matter for high Conceits do ſometime come ſtreaming into the Imaginations of baſe perſons, eſpecially when they are drunk with *News* and *Talk* of the People. But here is that which hath no apparance; That this Prieſt being utterly unacquainted with the true Perſon, according to whoſe pattern he ſhould ſhape his *Counterfeit*, ſhould think it poſſible for him to inſtruct his Player, either in geſture and faſhions, or in recounting paſt matters of his Life and Education; or to fit Anſwers to Queſtions, or the like, any ways to come near the Reſemblance of him whom he was to repreſent. For this *Lad* was not to perſonate one, that had been long before taken out of his Cradle, or conveyed away in his Infancy, known to few; but a *Youth* that 'till the age almoſt of Ten years had been brought up in a Court where infinite Eyes had been upon him. For King *Edward* touched with remorſe of his Brother the *Duke* of *Clarence*'s Death, would not indeed reſtore his Son, (of whom we ſpeak) to be *Duke* of *Clarence*, but yet created him *Earl* of *Warwick*, reviving his Honour on the Mothers ſide, and uſed him honorably during his time, though *Richard* the Third afterwards confined him. So that it cannot be, but that ſome great *Perſon*, that knew particularly, and familiarly *Edward Plantagenet*, had a hand in the buſineſs, from whom the *Prieſt* might take his aim. That which is moſt probable, out of the precedent and ſubſequent Acts, is, that it was the *Queen Dowager*, from whom this Action had the principal ſource and motion. For certain it is, ſhe was a buſie negotiating Woman, and in her *withdrawing-Chamber* had the fortunate *Conſpiracy* for the King againſt King *Richard* the Third, been hatched; which the King knew, and remembred perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely diſcontent with the King, thinking her Daughter (as the King handled the matter) not advanced, but depreſſed: and

and none could hold the *Book* ſo well to prompt and inſtruct this *Stage-play*, as ſhe could. Nevertheleſs it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and ſager ſort that favoured the Enterprize and knew the Secret, that this diſguiſed *Iad* ſhould poſſeſs the *Crown*; but at his peril to make way to the Overthrow of the King: and that done, they had their ſeveral *Hopes* and *Ways*. That which doth chiefly fortifie this Conjecture, is, that as ſoon as the matter brake forth in any ſtrength, it was one of the King's firſt Acts to cloiſter the *Queen Dowager* in the *Nunnery* of *Bermonſey*, and to take away all her Lands and Eſtate; and this by cloſe *Council* without any Legal proceeding, upon far-fetcht Pretences; *That ſhe had delivered her two Daughters out of Sanctuary to King* Richard, *contrary to promiſe*. Which Proceeding being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, both in matter and manner, makes it very probable there was ſome greater matter againſt her, which the King upon reaſon of *Policy*, and to avoid Envy would not publiſh. It is likewiſe no ſmall Argument that there was ſome Secret in it, and ſome ſuppreſſing of Examinations; for that the *Prieſt Simon* himſelf, after he was taken, was never brought to Execution, no not ſo much as to publick *Tryal*, (as many *Clergy-men* were upon leſs Treaſons,) but was only ſhut up cloſe in a *Dungeon*. Add to this, that after the Earl of *Lincoln* (a principal Perſon of the Houſe of *York*) was ſlain in *Stoke-field*, the King opened himſelf to ſome of his *Council*, that he was ſorry for the *Earl*'s Death, becauſe by him (he ſaid) he might have known the bottom of his Danger.

But to return to the *Narration* it ſelf; *Simon* did firſt inſtruct his *Scholar* for the part of *Richard* Duke of *York*, ſecond Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, and this was at ſuch time as it was voyced that the King purpoſed to put to Death *Edward Plantagenet* Priſoner in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing ſoon after a general bruit that *Plantagenet* had eſcaped out of the Tower, and thereby finding him ſo much beloved amongſt the People, and ſuch rejoycing at his Eſcape, the cunning *Prieſt* changed his Copy, and choſe now *Plantagenet* to be the Subject his *Pupil* ſhould perſonate, becauſe he was more in the preſent ſpeech, and Votes of the People; and it pieced better, and followed more cloſe and handſomly upon the bruit of *Plantagenet*'s Eſcape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking and too much *Perſpective* into his Diſguiſe; if he ſhould ſhew it here in *England*; he thought good (after the manner of *Scenes* in *Stage-Plays* and *Maſques*) to ſhew it a-far-off; and therefore ſailed with his Scholar into *Ireland*, where the Affection to the Houſe of *York* was moſt in height. The King had been a little Improvident in matters of *Ireland*, and had not removed *Officers* and *Chancellors*, and put in their places, or at

leaſt

leaſt intermingled perſons, of whom he ſtood aſſured, as he ſhould have done, ſince he knew the ſtrong Bent of that Countrey towards the Houſe of *York*; and that it was a tickliſh and unſetled State, more eaſie to receive diſtempers and mutations, than *England* was. But truſting to the reputation of his Victories and Succeſſes in *England*, he thought he ſhould have time enough to extend his Cares afterwards to that ſecond Kingdom.

Wherefore through this neglect, upon the coming of *Simon* with his pretended *Plantagenet* into *Ireland*, all things were prepared for Revolt and Sedition, almoſt as if they had been ſet and plotted before-hand. *Simon*'s firſt Addreſs was to the Lord *Thomas Fitz-Gerard*, *Earl* of *Kildare*, and Deputy of *Ireland*: before whoſe Eyes he did caſt ſuch a Miſt, (by his own inſinuation, and by the carriage of his Youth, that expreſſed a natural Princely Behaviour,) as joyned perhaps with ſome inward Vapours of Ambition and Affection in the *Earl*'s own mind, left him fully poſſeſſed, that it was the true *Plantagenet*. The *Earl* preſently communicated the matter with ſome of the *Nobles* and others there, at the firſt ſecretly. But finding them of like Affection to himſelf, he ſuffered it of purpoſe to vent and paſs abroad; becauſe they thought it not ſafe to reſolve, till they had a taſt of the *Peoples* Inclination. But if the *Great* ones were in forwardneſs, the *People* were in fury, entertaining this *Airy Body* or *Phantaſm* with incredible affection; partly out of their great devotion to the Houſe of *York*; partly out of a proud humour in the Nation, to give a *King* to the Realm of *England*. Neither did the *Party* in this heat of affection much trouble themſelves with the Attaindor of *George* Duke of *Clarence*; having newly learned by the King's example, that *Attaindors* do not interrupt the conveying of Title to the Crown. And as for the Daughters of King *Edward* the Fourth, they thought King *Richard* had ſaid enough for them: and took them to be but as of the King's *Party*, becauſe they were in his power, and at his diſpoſing. So that with marvellous conſent and applauſe, this Counterfeit *Plantagenet* was brought with great Solemnity to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and there ſaluted, ſerved and honoured as King; the *Boy* becoming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the baſeneſs of his condition. And within few days after he was proclaimed King in *Dublin*, by the Name of King *Edward* the Sixth; there being not a Sword drawn in King *Henry* his Quarrel.

The King was much moved with this unexpected Accident, when it came to his Ears, both becauſe it ſtrook upon that *String* which ever he moſt feared, as alſo becauſe it was ſtirred in ſuch a *Place*, where he could not with ſafety tranſfer his own Perſon, to ſuppreſs it. For partly through natural Valour, and partly through an univerſal Suſpition (not knowing whom to truſt) he

he was ever ready to wait upon all his Atchievements in perſon. The King therefore firſt called his *Council* together at the *Charter-houſe* at *Shine*. Which *Council* was held with great ſecreſie, but the open *Decrees* thereof, which preſently came abroad, were three.

The firſt was, That the *Queen Dowager*, for that ſhe contrary to her *Pact* and *Agreement* with thoſe that had concluded with her concerning the *Marriage* of her Daughter *Elizabeth* with King *Henry*, had nevertheleſs delivered her Daughters out of *Sanctuary* into King *Richard*'s hands; ſhould be Cloyſtered in the *Nunnery* of *Bermonſey*, and forfeit all her Lands and Goods.

The next was, That *Edward Plantagenet* then Cloſe-priſoner in the Tower, ſhould be in the moſt publick and notorious manner, that could be deviſed, ſhewed unto the People: In part to diſcharge the King of the Envy of that opinion and bruit, how he had been put to death privily in the Tower; But chiefly to make the People ſee the levity and impoſture of the Proceedings of *Ireland*, and that their *Plantagenet* was indeed but a Puppet, or a *Counterfeit*.

The third was, That there ſhould be again Proclaimed a *General-Pardon* to all that would reveal their Offences, and ſubmit themſelves by a Day. And that this *Pardon* ſhould be conceived in ſo ample and liberal a manner, as no *High-Treaſon* (no not againſt the King's own Perſon) ſhould be excepted. Which though it might ſeem ſtrange, yet was it not ſo to a wiſe King, that knew his greateſt dangers were not from the leaſt *Treaſons*, but from the greateſt. Theſe Reſolutions of the King and his *Council* were immediately put in execution. And firſt, the *Queen Dowager* was put into the Monaſtery of *Bermonſey*, and all her Eſtate ſeized into the King's hands, whereat there was much wondering; That a weak Woman, for the yielding to the menaces and promiſes of a Tyrant, after ſuch a diſtance of time, (wherein the King had ſhewed no diſpleaſure, nor alteration,) but much more after ſo happy a Marriage, between the King and her Daughter, bleſſed with *Iſſue-male*, ſhould upon a ſudden mutability or diſcloſure of the King's mind be ſo ſeverely handled.

This *Lady* was amongſt the Examples of great variety of *Fortune*. She had firſt from a diſtreſſed *Suitor*, and deſolate *Widow*, been taken to the *Marriage-Bed* of a *Batchelor-King*, the goodlieſt Perſonage of his time; and even in his Reign ſhe had endured a ſtrange *Eclipſe* by the King's flight, and temporary depriving from the Crown. She was alſo very happy, in that ſhe had by him fair *Iſſue*, and continued his Nuptial Love (helping her ſelf by ſome obſequious bearing and diſſembling of his Pleaſures) to the very end. She was much affectionate to her own Kindred, even unto *Faction*; which did ſtir great Envy in the *Lords* of the King's ſide, who counted her Blood a diſparagement to be mingled

mingled with the King's. With which *Lords* of the King's Blood, joyned alſo the King's *Favorite* the Lord *Haſtings*; who, notwithſtanding the King's great affection to him, was thought at times through her malice and ſpleen, not to be out of danger of falling. After her Husband's death, ſhe was matter of *Tragedy*, having lived to ſee her *Brother* beheaded, and her two *Sons* depoſed from the Crown, baſtarded in their Blood, and cruelly murthered. All this while nevertheleſs ſhe enjoyed her Liberty, State, and Fortunes. But afterwards again, upon the *Riſe* of the *wheel*, when ſhe had a *King* to her *Son-in-Law*, and was made *Grand-mother* to a *Grand-child* of the beſt Sex; yet was ſhe (upon dark and unknown Reaſons, and no leſs ſtrange Pretences) precipitated, and baniſhed the World, into a *Nunnery*; where it was almoſt thought dangerous to viſit her, or ſee her; and where not long after ſhe ended her Life: but was by the King's commandment Buried with the King her Husband at *Windſor*. She was *Foundreſs* of *Queens-College* in *Cambridge*. For this *Act* the King ſuſtained great Obloquy, which nevertheleſs (beſides the reaſon of State) was ſomewhat ſweetned to him by a great *Confiſcation*.

About this time alſo *Edward Plantagenet* was upon a *Sunday* brought throughout all the principal Streets of *London*, to be ſeen of the people. And having paſſed the view of the Streets, was conducted to St. *Paul*'s Church, in ſolemn *Proceſſion*, where great ſtore of people were aſſembled. And it was provided alſo in good faſhion, that divers of the *Nobility*, and others of Quality (eſpecially of thoſe that the King moſt ſuſpected, and knew the perſon of *Plantagenet* beſt) had communication with the young Gentleman by the way, and entertained him with ſpeech and diſcourſe; which did in effect marr the *Pageant* in *Ireland* with the Subjects here, at leaſt with ſo many, as out of Errour, and not out of Malice, might be miſ-led. Nevertheleſs, in *Ireland* (where it was too late to go back) it wrought little or no effect. But contrariwiſe, they turned the *Impoſture* upon the King, and gave out, That the King, to defeat the true *Inheritor*, and to mock the World, and blind the Eyes of ſimple men, had tricked up a *Boy* in the likeneſs of *Edward Plantagenet*, and ſhewed him to the People, not ſparing to prophane the *Ceremony* of a *Proceſſion*, the more to countenance the *Fable*.

The *General-Pardon* likewiſe near the ſame time came forth; and the King therewithal omitted no diligence, in giving ſtraight Order, for the keeping the *Ports*; that *Fugitives*, *Male-contents*, or ſuſpected *Perſons* might not paſs over into *Ireland*, and *Flanders*,

Mean while the *Rebels* in *Ireland* had ſent privy Meſſengers both into *England*, and into *Flanders*, who in both places had wrought effects of no ſmall Importance. For in *England* they

won to their Party *John*, Earl of *Lincoln*, Son of *John de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and of *Elizabeth*, King *Edward* the Fourth's eldeſt Siſter. This *Earl* was a man of great Wit and Courage, and had his thoughts highly raiſed by Hopes and Expectations for a time. For *Richard* the Third had a Reſolution, out of his hatred to both his Brethren, King *Edward*, and the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Lines, (having had his hand in both their Bloods,) to diſable their Iſſues upon falſe and incompetent pretexts; the one, of *Attaindor*; the other, of *Illegitimation*: and to deſign this *Gentleman* (in caſe himſelf ſhould dye without Children) for *Inheritor* of the *Crown*. Neither was this unknown to the King, who had ſecretly an Eye upon him. But the King having taſted of the Envy of the People, for his Impriſonment of *Edward Plantagenet*, was doubtful to heap up any more diſtaſts of that kind, by the Impriſonment of *De la Pole* alſo; the rather thinking it Policy to conſerve him as a *Corrival* unto the other. The Earl of *Lincoln* was induced to participate with the Action of *Ireland*, not lightly upon the ſtrength of the *Proceedings* there, which was but a *Bubble*, but upon Letters from the Lady *Margaret* of *Burgundy*, in whoſe ſuccours and declaration for the *Enterprize*, there ſeemed to be a more ſolid Foundation, both for Reputation and Forces. Neither did the *Earl* refrain the Buſineſs, for that he knew the pretended *Plantagenet* to be but an Idol. But contrariwiſe, he was more glad it ſhould be the falſe *Plantagenet* than the true: becauſe the falſe being ſure to fall away of himſelf, and the true to be made ſure of by the King; it might open and pave a fair and prepared way to his own *Title*. With this Reſolution he ſayled ſecretly into *Flanders*: where was a little before arrived the Lord *Lovel*, leaving a correſpondence here in *England* with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a man of great Power and Dependencies in *Lancaſhire*. For before this time, when the pretended *Plantagenet* was firſt received in *Ireland*, ſecret Meſſengers had been alſo ſent to the Lady *Margaret*, advertiſing her what was paſſed in *Ireland*, imploring Succours in an Enterprize (as they ſaid) ſo pious and juſt, and that God had ſo miraculouſly proſpered the beginning thereof; and making offer, that all things ſhould be guided by her will and direction, as the *Sovereign Patroneſs* and *Protectreſs* of the Enterprize. *Margaret* was ſecond Siſter to King *Edward* the Fourth, and had been ſecond Wife to *Charles*, ſirnamed the *Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*; by whom, having no Children of her own, ſhe did with ſingular care and tenderneſs intend the Education of *Philip* and *Margaret*, Grand-children to her former Husband; which won her great Love and Authority among the *Dutch*. This *Princeſs* (having the *Spirit* of a Man, and *Malice* of a Woman) abounding in *Treaſure*, by the greatneſs of her *Dower*, and her provident Government, and being childleſs, and without any nearer Care, made

made it her Deſign and Enterprize, to ſee the *Majeſty Royal* of *England* once again re-placed in her Houſe, and had ſet up King *Henry* as a Mark, at whoſe Overthrow all her Actions ſhould aim and ſhoot; in-ſo-much as all the *Counſels* of his ſucceeding Troubles came chiefly out of that *Quiver*. And ſhe bare ſuch a mortal Hatred to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and perſonally to the King, as ſhe was no ways mollified by the *Conjunction* of the Houſes in her *Neeces* Marriage, but rather hated her *Neece*, as the means of the King's aſcent to the *Crown*, and aſſurance therein. Wherefore with great violence of affection ſhe embraced this Overture: And upon Counſel taken with the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the Lord *Lovel*, and ſome other of the *Party*, it was reſolved with all ſpeed, the two Lords aſſiſted with a Regiment of two thouſand *Almains*, being choice and veterane *Bands* under the Command of *Martin Swart* (a valiant and experimented *Captain*) ſhould paſs over into *Ireland* to the new *King*. Hoping, that when the *Action* ſhould have the face of a received and ſetled *Regality*, (with ſuch a ſecond Perſon, as the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the *Conjunction* and *Reputation* of Forein Succors,) the Fame of it would embolden and prepare all the *Party* of the *Confederates* and *Male-contents* within the Realm of *England*, to give them Aſſiſtance, when they ſhould come over there. And for the *Perſon* of the *Counterfeit*, it was agreed, that if all things ſucceeded well, he ſhould be put down, and the true *Plantagenet* received: Wherein nevertheleſs the Earl of *Lincoln* had his particular hopes. After they were come into *Ireland*, and that the *Party* took courage, by ſeeing themſelves together in a Body, they grew very confident of ſucceſs, conceiving and diſcourſing amongſt themſelves, that they went in upon far better *Cards* to overthrow King *Henry*, than King *Henry* had to overthrow King *Richard*. And that if there were not a Sword drawn againſt them in *Ireland*, it was a ſign the Swords in *England* would be ſoon ſheathed, or beaten down. And firſt, for a Bravery upon this acceſſion of Power, they Crowned their new King in the in the Cathedral Church of *Dublin*; who formerly had been but Proclaimed only; and then ſate in *Council* what ſhould further be done. At which *Council*, though it were propounded by ſome, that it were the beſt way to Eſtabliſh themſelves firſt in *Ireland*, and to make that the Seat of the War, and to draw King *Henry* thither in Perſon, by whoſe abſence, they thought there would be great Alterations and Commotions in *England*, yet becauſe the Kingdom there was poor, and they ſhould not be able to keep their Army together, nor pay their *German* Soldiers, and for that alſo the ſway of the *Iriſh-men*, and generally of the Men-of-War, which (as in ſuch caſes of popular Tumults is uſual) did in effect govern their Leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their Fortunes upon *England*: It was concluded with all poſſible

ſpeed to tranſport their Forces into *England*. The King in the mean time, who at the firſt when he heard what was done in *Ireland*, though it troubled him, yet thought he ſhould be well enough able to ſcatter the *Iriſh* as a Flight of Birds, and rattle away this Swarm of Bees, with their King; when he heard afterwards that the Earl of *Lincoln* was embarqued in the Action, and that the Lady *Margaret* was declared for it, he apprehended the danger in a true Degree as it was, and ſaw plainly that his Kingdom muſt again be put to the *Stake*, and that he muſt fight for it. And firſt, he did conceive, before he underſtood of the Earl of *Lincoln*'s ſayling into *Ireland* out of *Flanders*, that he ſhould be aſſailed both upon the Eaſt-parts of the Kingdom of *England* by ſome impreſſion from *Flanders*, and upon the North-weſt out of *Ireland*. And therefore having ordered Muſters to be made in both Parts, and having proviſionally deſigned two Generals, *Jaſper* Earl of *Bedford*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, (meaning himſelf alſo to go in perſon, where the Affairs ſhould moſt require it,) and nevertheleſs not expecting any actual *Invaſion* at that time (the Winter being far on) he took his journey himſelf towards *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, for the confirming of thoſe parts. And being come to St. *Edmonds-bury*, he underſtood, that *Thomas*, Marqueſs *Dorſet* (who had been one of the Pledges in *France*) was haſtning towards him, to purge himſelf of ſome Accuſations which had been made againſt him. But the King, though he kept an Ear for him, yet was the time ſo doubtful, that he ſent the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the *Tower*; with a fair Meſſage nevertheleſs, that he ſhould bear that diſgrace with patience, for that the King meant not his hurt, but only to preſerve him from doing hurt, either to the King's ſervice, or to himſelf; and that the King ſhould always be able (when he had cleared himſelf) to make him reparation.

From St. *Edmonds-bury* he went to *Norwich*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas*. And from thence he went (in a manner of Pilgrimage) to *Walſingham*, where he viſited our *Ladies Church*, famous for *Miracles*, and made his Prayers and Vows for help and deliverance. And from thence he returned by *Cambridge* to *London*. Not long after, the *Rebels* with their *King* (under the Leading of the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Kildare*, the Lord *Lovel*, and Colonel *Swart*) landed at *Fouldrey* in *Lancaſhire*, whither there repaired to them, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, with ſome ſmall company of *Engliſh*. The King by that time (knowing now the Storm would not divide, but fall in one place) had levied Forces in good number; and in perſon (taking with him his two deſigned Generals, the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oxford*) was come on his way towards them as far as *Coventry*, whence he ſent forth a Troop of *Light-horſmen* for diſcovery, and

to

to intercept ſome ſtraglers of the Enemies, by whom he might the better underſtand the particulars of their Progreſs and purpoſes, which was accordingly done; though the King otherwiſe was not without Intelligence from *Eſpials* in the *Camp.*

The Rebels took their way towards *York*, without ſpoiling the Countrey, or any act of Hoſtility, the better to put themſelves into favour of the People, and to perſonate their *King:* who (no doubt, out of a Princely feeling) was ſparing, and compaſſionate towards his Subjects. But their *Snow-ball* did not gather as it went. For the People came not in to them: Neither did any riſe or declare themſelves in other parts of the Kingdom for them, which was cauſed partly by the good taſt that the King had given his People of his *Government*, joyned with the reputation of his *Felicity*, and partly for that it was an odious thing to the People of *England*, to have a King brought in to them upon the ſhoulders of *Iriſh* and *Dutch*, of which their Army was in ſubſtance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great Judgement on the Party of the Rebels, for them to take their way towards *York:* Conſidering that howſoever thoſe parts had formerly been a Nurſery of their Friends; yet it was there, where the Lord *Lovel* had ſo lately disbanded, and where the King's preſence had a little before qualified diſcontents. The Earl of *Lincoln*, deceived of his hopes of the Countries concourſe unto him, (in which caſe he would have temporized,) and ſeeing the buſineſs paſt Retract, reſolved to make on where the King was, and to give him Battel; and thereupon, marched towards *Newark*, thinking to have ſurpriſed the Town. But the King was ſomewhat before this time come to *Nottingham*, where he called a *Council of War*, at which was conſulted, whether it were beſt to protract time, or ſpeedily to ſet upon the Rebels. In which *Council* the King himſelf (whoſe continual vigilancy did ſuck in ſometimes cauſeleſs Suſpitions, which few elſe knew) inclined to the accelerating a *Battel.* But this was preſently put out of doubt, by the great Aids that came in to him in the inſtant of this Conſultation, partly upon *Miſſives*, and partly *Voluntaries* from many parts of the Kingdom.

The principal perſons that came then to the King's aid, were the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Strange*, of the Nobility; and of Knights and Gentlemen to the number of at leaſt Threeſcore and ten perſons, with their Companies, making in the whole, at the leaſt Six Thouſand fighting men, beſides the Forces that were with the King before. Whereupon the King, finding his Army ſo bravely re-enforced, and a great alacrity in all his men to fight, was confirmed in his former Reſolution, and marched ſpeedily, ſo as he put himſelf between the Enemies Camp and *Newark*; being loth their Army ſhould get the commodity of that Town. The Earl nothing diſmayed, came forwards

forwards that day unto a little Village called *Stoke*, and there camped that night, upon the brow or hanging of a Hill. The King the next day preſented him Battel upon the *Plain*, the fields there being open and champion. The Earl couragiouſly came down and joyned Battel with him. Concerning which Battel, the Relations that are left unto us are ſo naked and negligent, (though it be an Action of ſo recent memory) as they rather declared the Succeſs of the day, than the Manner of the Fight. They ſay, that the King divided his Army into three Battels, whereof the *Vaunt-guard* only well ſtrengthned with Wings, came to fight. That the Fight was fierce and obſtinate, and laſted three hours, before the Victory inclined either way; ſave that Judgement might be made, by that the King's *Vaunt-guard* of it ſelf maintained fight againſt the whole *Power* of the Enemies, (the other two Battels remaining out of action,) what the ſucceſs was like to be in the end: That *Martin Swart* with his *Germans* performed bravely; and ſo did thoſe few *Engliſh* that were on that ſide, neither did the *Iriſh* fail in courage or fierceneſs, but being almoſt naked men, only armed with *Darts* and *Skeins*, it was rather an Execution, than a Fight upon them; inſomuch as the furious ſlaughter of them was a great diſcouragement and appalement to the reſt: That there dyed upon the place all the Chieftains; that is, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Kildare*, *Francis* Lord *Lovel*, *Martin Swart*, and Sir *Thomas Broughton*; all making good the fight, without any ground given. Only of the Lord *Lovel* there went a report, that he fled and ſwam over *Trent* on horſeback, but could not recover the further ſide, by reaſon of the ſteepneſs of the Bank, and ſo was drowned in the *River*. But another report leaves him not there, but that he lived long after in a Cave or Vault. The number that was ſlain in the field, was of the *Enemies* part, Four thouſand at the leaſt; and of the *King*'s part, one half of his *Vaunt-guard*, beſides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken Priſoners, amongſt others, the Counterfeit *Plantagenet* (now *Lambert Simnel* again) and the crafty *Prieſt* his Tutor. For *Lambert*, the King would not take his Life, both out of Magnanimity, taking him but as an *Image* of *Wax*, that others had tempered and molded; and likewiſe out of Wiſdom, thinking that if he ſuffered death, he would be forgotten too ſoon; but being kept alive, he would be a continual *Spectacle*, and a kind of remedy againſt the like *Inchantments* of *People*, in time to come. For which cauſe he was taken into ſervice in his Court, to a baſe office in his Kitchin; ſo that (in a kind of *Mattacina* of humane fortune) he turned a *Broach*, that had worn a *Crown*: Whereas Fortune commonly doth not bring in a *Comedy* or *Farce* after a *Tragedy*. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the King's *Falconers*. As to the *Prieſt*, he was committed Cloſe-priſoner

priſoner, and heard of no more, the King loving to ſeal up his own dangers.

After the Battel, the King went to *Lincoln*, where he cauſed *Supplications* and *Thankſgivings* to be made for his Deliverance and Victory. And that his Devotions might go round in Circle, he ſent his *Banner* to be Offered to our Lady of *Walſingham*, where before he made his *Vows*. And thus delivered of this ſo ſtrange an *Engin* and new *Invention* of Fortune, he returned to his former confidence of mind, thinking now, that all his miſfortunes had come at once. But it fell out unto him according to the *Speech* of the common People in the beginning of his Reign, that ſaid; *It was a token he ſhould reign in Labour, becauſe his Reign began with a ſickneſs of Sweat.* But howſoever the King thought himſelf now in a *Haven*, yet ſuch was his Wiſdom, as his *Confidence* did ſeldom darken his *Fore-ſight*, eſpecially in things near hand. And therefore awakened by ſo freſh, and unexpected dangers, he entred into due conſideration, as well how to weed out the Partakers of the former *Rebellion*, as to kill the Seeds of the like in time to come: and withal to take away all ſhelters and harbours for diſcontented Perſons, where they might hatch and foſter *Rebellions*, which afterwards might gather ſtrength and motion. And firſt, he did yet again make a Progreſs from *Lincoln* to the Northern parts, though it were indeed rather an *Itinerary Circuit* of Juſtice, than a Progreſs. For all along as he went, with much ſeverity and ſtrict inquiſition, partly by Martial Law, and partly by Commiſſion, were puniſhed, the Adherents and Ayders of the late Rebels: not all by Death, (for the Field had drawn much blood,) but by Fines and Ranſoms, which ſpared Life, and raiſed Treaſure. Amongſt other Crimes of this nature, there was diligent inquiry made of ſuch as had raiſed and diſperſed a bruit and rumour, a little before the Field fought, *That the Rebels had the day; and that the King's Army was overthrown, and the King fled.* Whereby it was ſuppoſed that many Succours, which otherwiſe would have come unto the King, were cunningly put off, and kept back. Which *Charge* and *Accuſation*, though it had ſome ground, yet it was induſtriouſly embraced and put on by divers, who having been in themſelves not the beſt affected to the King's part, nor forward to come to his ayd, were glad to apprehend this colour, to cover their neglect and coldneſs, under the pretence of ſuch diſcouragements. Which cunning nevertheleſs, the King would not underſtand, though he lodged it, and noted it in ſome particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the roots and cauſes of the like *Commotions* in time to come, the King began to find where his ſhooe did wring him, and that it was his depreſſing of the Houſe of *York*, that did rancle and feſter the Affections of his People. And therefore

therefore being now too wiſe to diſdain perils any longer, and willing to give ſome contentment in that kind (at leaſt in Ceremony) he reſolved at laſt to proceed to the *Coronation* of his Queen. And therefore at his coming to *London*, where he entred in State, and in a kind of *Triumph*, and celebrated his *Victory*, with two days of Devotion, (for the firſt day he repaired to St. *Pauls*, and had the Hymn of *Te Deum* ſung, and the morrow after he went in *Proceſſion*, and heard the Sermon at the *Croſs*,) the Queen was with great ſolemnity Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, the five and twentyeth of *November*, in the third year of his Reign, which was about two years after the Marriage; *Like an old Chriſtning, that had ſtaid long for Godfathers.* Which ſtrange and unuſual diſtance of time, made it ſubject to every man's note, that it was an Act againſt his ſtomach, and put upon him by neceſſity and reaſon of *State.* Soon after, to ſhew that it was now fair weather again, and that the Impriſonment of *Thomas* Marqueſs *Dorſet*, was rather upon ſuſpition of the Time, than of the Man, he the ſaid Marqueſs was ſet at liberty without Examination, or other circumſtance. At that time alſo the King ſent an *Ambaſſador* unto Pope *Innocent*, ſignifying unto him this his Marriage, and that now (like another *Æneas*) he had paſſed through the floods of his former Troubles and Travels, and was arrived unto a ſafe Haven: and thanking His *Holineſs*, that he had honoured the Celebration of his Marriage with the preſence of his *Ambaſſador*, and offering both his Perſon and the Forces of his Kingdom upon all occaſions to do him ſervice.

The *Ambaſſador*, making his Oration to the Pope, in the preſence of the Cardinals, did ſo magnifie the *King* and *Queen*, as was enough to glut the Hearers. But then he did again ſo extol and deifie the *Pope*, as made all that he had ſaid in praiſe of his *Maſter* and *Miſtreſs* ſeem temperate and paſſable. But he was very honorably entertained, and extremely much made on by the Pope; who knowing himſelf to be lazy and unprofitable to the *Chriſtian World*, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were ſuch *Eccho's* of him ſounding in remote parts. He obtained alſo of the Pope a very juſt and honorable *Bull*, qualifying the *Privileges* of *Sanctuary*, (wherewith the King had been extremely galled) in three Points.

The firſt, that if any *Sanctuary-man* did by night, or otherwiſe, get out of *Sanctuary* privily, and commit miſchief and treſpaſs, and then come in again, he ſhould loſe the benefit of *Sanctuary* for ever after. The ſecond, that howſoever the Perſon of the *Sanctuary-man* was protected from his Creditors, yet his Goods out of *Sanctuary* ſhould not. The third, that if any took *Sanctuary* for caſe of Treaſon, the King might appoint him Keepers to look to him in *Sanctuary.*

The King alſo for the better ſecuring of his Eſtate, againſt mutinous

mutinous and male-contented Subjects (whereof he ſaw the Realm was full) who might have their refuge into *Scotland*, which was not under Key, as the *Ports* were: For that cauſe, rather than for any doubt of Hoſtility from thoſe parts, before his coming to *London* (when he was at *Newcaſtle*) had ſent a ſolemn Ambaſſage unto *James* the Third, King of *Scotland*, to treat and conclude a Peace with him. The Ambaſſadors were *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Exceter*, and Sir *Richard Edgcomb* Comptroller of the King's Houſe, who were honourably received and entertained there. But the King of *Scotland* labouring of the ſame diſeaſe that King *Henry* did, (though more mortal, as afterwards appeared) that is, *Diſcontented Subjects*, apt to riſe, and raiſe Tumult, although in his own affection he did much deſire to make a Peace with the King: Yet finding his Nobles averſe, and not daring to diſpleaſe them, concluded only a Truce for ſeven years; giving nevertheleſs promiſe in private, that it ſhould be renewed from time to time, during the two Kings lives.

HItherto the King had been exerciſed in ſetling his Affairs at home. But about this time brake forth an occaſion that drew him to look abroad, and to hearken to forein buſineſs. *Charles* the Eighth the *French* King, by the virtue and good fortune of his two immediate Predeceſſors, *Charles* the Seventh his Grand-father, and *Lewis* the Eleventh his Father, received the Kingdom of *France* in more flouriſhing and ſpread Eſtate, than it had been of many years before; being redintegrate in thoſe principal Members, which antiently had been portions of the Crown of *France*, and were after diſſevered, ſo as they remained only in Homage, and not in Sovereignty, (being governed by abſolute Princes of their own) *Anjou*, *Normandy*, *Provence* and *Burgundy*; there remained only *Britain* to be re-united, and ſo the Monarchy of *France* to be reduced to the antient Terms and Bounds.

King *Charles* was not a little inflamed with an ambition to re-purchaſe, and re-annex that *Dutchy*. Which his ambition was a wiſe and well-weighed Ambition; not like unto the ambitions of his ſucceeding Enterprizes of *Italy*. For at that time being newly come to the Crown, he was ſomewhat guided by his Father's *Counſels*, (*Counſels*, not *Counſellors*) for his Father was his own *Counſel*, and had few able men about him. And that King (he knew well) had ever diſtaſted the Deſigns of *Italy*, and in particular had an Eye upon *Britain*. There were many circumſtances that did feed the Ambition of *Charles*, with pregnant and apparent hopes of Succeſs. The Duke of *Britain* old, and entred into a Lethargy, and ſerved with *Mercenary Counſellors*, Father of two only Daughters, the one ſick and not likely to continue. King *Charles* himſelf in the flower of his age, and

the Subjects of *France* at that time well trained for War, both for Leaders and Soldiers; men of ſervice being not yet worn out, ſince the Wars of *Lewis* againſt *Burgundy*. He found himſelf alſo in Peace with all his Neighbour-Princes. As for thoſe that might oppoſe to his Enterprize; *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, his Rival in the ſame deſires, (as well for the *Dutchy*, as the Daughter) feeble in means; and King *Henry* of *England* as well ſomewhat obnoxious to him for his favours and benefits, as buſied in his particular troubles at home. There was alſo a fair and ſpecious occaſion offered him to hide his Ambition, and to juſtifie his Warring upon *Britain*, for that the Duke had received and ſuccoured *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, and other of the *French* Nobility, which had taken Arms againſt their King. Wherefore King *Charles* being reſolved upon that War, knew well he could not receive any oppoſition ſo potent, as if King *Henry* ſhould either upon Policy of State, in preventing the growing Greatneſs of *France*; or upon gratitude unto the Duke of *Britain*, for his former favours, in the time of his diſtreſs, eſpouſe that Quarrel, and declare himſelf in ayd of the Duke. Therefore he no ſooner heard that King *Henry* was ſetled by his Victory, but forthwith he ſent Ambaſſadors unto him, to pray his aſſiſtance, or at the leaſt that he would ſtand neutral. Which Ambaſſadors found the King at *Leiceſter*, and delivered their Embaſſy to this effect: They firſt imparted unto the King the ſucceſs that their Maſter had had a little before againſt *Maximilian*, in recovery of certain Towns from him: which was done in a kind of privacy, and inwardneſs towards the King; and if the *French* King did not eſteem him for an outward or formal *Confederate*, but as one that had part in his Affections and Fortunes, and with whom he took pleaſure to communicate his Buſineſs. After this Compliment, and ſome gratulation for the King's Victory, they fell to their Errand, declaring to the King, that their Maſter was enforced to enter into a juſt and neceſſary War with the Duke of *Britain*, for that he had received and ſuccoured thoſe that were Traytors, and declared Enemies unto his *Perſon* and *State*. That they were no mean, diſtreſſed, and calamitous perſons that fled to him for refuge, but of ſo great quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own fortune, but to infeſt and invade his; the Head of them being the Duke of *Orleance*, the firſt Prince of the Blood, and the ſecond Perſon of *France*. That therefore, rightly to underſtand it, it was rather on their Maſter's part a *Defenſive* War, than an *Offenſive*; as that, that could not be omitted or forborn, if he tendred the conſervation of his own *Eſtate*; and that it was not the firſt Blow that made the War invaſive, (for that no wiſe Prince would ſtay for) but the firſt Provocation, or at leaſt the firſt Preparation. Nay that this War was rather a

ſup-

ſuppreſſion of Rebels, than a War with a juſt Enemy, where the Caſe is; That his Subjects, *Traytors*, are received by the Duke of *Britain* his *Homager*. That King *Henry* knew well what went upon it in example, if *Neighbour Princes* ſhould patronize and comfort *Rebels*, againſt the Law of Nations and of *Leagues*. Nevertheleſs that their Maſter was not ignorant, that the King had been beholding to the Duke of *Britain* in his adverſity; as on the other ſide, they knew he would not forget alſo the readineſs of their King, in ayding him when the Duke of *Britain*, or his mercenary *Counſellors* failed him, and would have betrayed him; And that there was a great difference between the courteſies received from their Maſter, and the Duke of *Britain*; for that the Dukes might have ends of Utility and Bargain, whereas their Maſters could not have proceeded but out of entire *Affection*. For that, if it had been meaſured by a politick line, it had been better for his affairs, that a *Tyrant* ſhould have reigned in *England*, troubled and hated, than ſuch a Prince, whoſe virtues could not fail to make him great and potent, whenſoever he was come to be Maſter of his affairs. But howſoever it ſtood for the point of Obligation, which the King might owe to the Duke of *Britain*, yet their Maſter was well aſſured, it would not divert King *Henry* of *England* from doing that, that was juſt, nor ever embarque him in ſo ill-grounded a Quarrel. Therefore, ſince this War which their Maſter was now to make, was but to deliver himſelf from imminent dangers, their King hoped the King would ſhew the like affection to the conſervation of their Maſter's Eſtate, as their Maſter had (when time was) ſhewed to the King's acquiſition of his Kingdom. At the leaſt, that according to the inclination which the King had ever profeſſed of Peace, he would look on, and ſtand Neutral; for that their Maſter could not with reaſon preſs him to undertake part in the War, being ſo newly ſetled and recovered from inteſtine Seditions. But touching the Myſtery of re-annexing of the *Dutchy* of *Britain* to the Crown of *France*, either by War, or by Marriage with the Daughter of *Britain*; the Ambaſſadors bare aloof from it, as from a Rock, knowing that it made moſt againſt them. And therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwiſe interlaced in their conference with the King, the aſſured purpoſe of their Maſter, to match with the Daughter of *Maximilian*; And entertained the King alſo with ſome wandring Diſcourſes of their King's purpoſe, to recover by Arms his right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, by an expedition in Perſon; All to remove the King from all jealouſie of any *Deſign*, in theſe hither Parts upon *Britain*, otherwiſe than for quenching of the Fire, which he feared might be kindled in his own Eſtate.

The King after advice taken with his *Council*, made anſwer to the Ambaſſadors. And firſt returned their *Compliment*, ſhewing

he was right glad of the *French* King's reception of thoſe Towns from *Maximilian*. Then he familiarly related ſome particular paſſages of his own Adventures and Victory paſſed. As to the buſineſs of *Britain*, the King anſwered in few words; That the *French* King and the Duke of *Britain*, were the two perſons to whom he was moſt obliged of all men; and that he ſhould think himſelf very happy, if things ſhould go ſo between them, as he ſhould not be able to acquit himſelf in gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him as a *Chriſtian* King and a common Friend to them, to ſatisfie all Obligations both to God and man, but to offer himſelf for a *Mediator* of an *Accord* and *Peace* between them; by which courſe he doubted not but their King's Eſtate, and Honour both, would be preſerved with more *Safety* and leſs *Envy* than by a War, and that he would ſpare no coſt or pains, no if it were *To go on Pilgrimage*, for ſo good an effect; And concluded, that in this great *Affair*, which he took ſo much to heart, he would expreſs himſelf more fully by an Ambaſſage, which he would ſpeedily diſpatch unto the *French* King for that purpoſe. And in this ſort the *French* Ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed; the King avoiding to underſtand any thing touching the re-annexing of *Britain*, as the Ambaſſadors had avoided to mention it; ſave that he gave a little touch of it in the word, *Envy*. And ſo it was, that the King was neither ſo ſhallow, nor ſo ill advertiſed, as not to perceive the intention of the *French*; for the inveſting himſelf of *Britain*. But firſt he was utterly unwilling (howſoever he gave out) to enter into War with *France*. A Fame of a War he liked well, but not an *Atchievement*; for the one he thought would make him Richer, and the other Poorer: and he was poſſeſſed with many ſecret fears, touching his own People, which he was therefore loth to arm, and put Weapons into their hands. Yet notwithſtanding (as a prudent and couragious Prince) he was not ſo averſe from a War, but that he was reſolved to chooſe it, rather than to have *Britain* carried by *France*, being ſo great and opulent a Dutchy, and ſituate ſo opportunely to annoy *England*, either for Coaſt, or Trade. But the King's hopes were, that partly by negligence, commonly imputed to the *French*, (eſpecially in the Court of a young King) and partly by the native power of *Britain* it ſelf, which was not ſmall; but chiefly in reſpect of the great Party, that the Duke of *Orleance* had in the Kingdom of *France*, and thereby means to ſtir up Civil troubles, to divert the *French* King from the Enterprize of *Britain*: And laſtly, in regard of the Power of *Maximilian*, who was Corrival to the *French* King in that purſuit, the Enterprize would either bow to a Peace, or break in it ſelf. In all which, the King meaſured and valued things amiſs, as afterwards appeared. He ſent therefore forthwith to the *French* King, *Chriſtopher Urſwick*, his Chaplain, a perſon by him much

much truſted and employed; chooſing him the rather, becauſe he was a *Church-man*, as beſt ſorting with an Embaſſy of *Pacification:* and giving him alſo a *Commiſſion*, That if the *French* King conſented to Treat, he ſhould thence repair to the Duke of *Britain*, and ripen the Treaty on both parts. *Urſwick* made declaration to the *French* King, much to the purpoſe of the King's anſwer to the *French* Ambaſſadors here; inſtilling alſo tenderly ſome overture of receiving to grace the Duke of *Orleance*, and ſome taſted of Conditions of Accord. But the *French* King on the other ſide proceeded not ſincerely, but with a great deal of art and diſſimulation, in this Treaty; having for his end to gain time, and ſo put off the *Engliſh* Succours, under hope of Peace, till he had got good footing in *Britain*, by force of Arms. Wherefore he anſwered the Ambaſſador, That he would put himſelf into the King's hands, and make him *Arbiter* of the Peace: and willingly conſent, that the Ambaſſador ſhould ſtraightways paſs into *Britain*, to ſignifie this his conſent, and to know the Duke's mind likewiſe; well fore-ſeeing, that the Duke of *Orleance*, by whom the Duke of *Britain* was wholly led, taking himſelf to be upon terms irreconcilable with him, would admit of no Treaty of Peace. Whereby he ſhould in one, both generally abroad veil over his Ambition, and win the reputation of juſt and moderate proceedings; and ſhould withal endear himſelf in the Affections of the King of *England*, as one, that had committed all to his Will: Nay, and (which was yet more fine) make faith in him, That although he went on with the War, yet it ſhould be but with his Sword in his hand, to bend the ſtiffneſs of the other party to accept of Peace: and ſo the King ſhould take no umbrage of his arming and proſecution; but the *Treaty* to be kept on foot, to the very laſt inſtant, till he were *Maſter* of the *Field*.

Which grounds being by the *French* King wiſely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador came to the Court of *Britain*, the Duke was then ſcarcely perfect in his memory, and all things were directed by the Duke of *Orleance*; who gave audience to the Chaplain *Urſwick*, and upon his Ambaſſage delivered, made anſwer in ſomewhat high terms; That the Duke of *Britain* having been an *Hoſt*, and a kind of Parent or Foſter-father to the King, in his tenderneſs of age, and weakneſs of fortune, did look for at this time from King *Henry* (the renowned King of *England*) rather brave Troops for for his Succours, than a vain *Treaty* of *Peace*. And if the King could forget the good Offices of the Duke done unto him aforetime; yet he knew well, he would in his Wiſdom conſider of the future, how much it imported his own Safety and Reputation, both in Foreign parts, and with his own People, not to ſuffer *Britain* (the old Confederates of *England*) to be ſwallowed up by

by *France*, and ſo many good Ports, and ſtrong Towns upon the Coaſt, be in the command of ſo potent a Neighbour-King, and ſo ancient an Enemy. And therefore humbly deſired the King to think of this buſineſs as his own; and therewith brake off, and denyed any further Conference for Treaty.

Urſwick returned firſt to the *French* King, and related to him what had paſſed. Who finding things to ſort to his deſire, took hold of them, and ſaid; That the Ambaſſador might perceive now, that which he for his part, partly, imagined before; That conſidering in what hands the Duke of *Britain* was, there would be no Peace, but by a mixt Treaty of force and perſwaſion. And therefore he would go on with the one, and deſired the King not to deſiſt from the other. But for his own part, he did faithfully promiſe, to be ſtill in the King's power, to rule him in the matter of Peace. This was accordingly repreſented unto the King by *Urſwick* at his return, and in ſuch a faſhion, as if the Treaty were in no ſort deſperate, but rather ſtayd for a better hour, till the Hammer had wrought, and beat the Party of *Britain* more pliant. Whereupon there paſſed continually *Pacquets* and *Diſpatches* between the two Kings, from the one out of *deſire*, and from the other out of *diſſimulation*, about the negotiation of Peace. The *French* King mean-while invaded *Britain* with great Forces, and diſtreſſed the City of *Nantes* with a ſtrait Siege, and (as one, who though he had no great Judgement, yet had that, that he could Diſſemble home) the more he did urge the proſecution of the War, the more he did at the ſame time, urge the ſolicitation of the Peace. Inſomuch as during the Siege of *Nantes*, after many Letters and particular Meſſages, the better to maintain his diſſimulation, and to refreſh the *Treaty*, he ſent *Bernard Daubigney* (a perſon of good quality) to the King, earneſtly to deſire him, to make an end of the buſineſs howſoever.

The King was no leſs ready to revive and quicken the *Treaty*; and thereupon ſent three *Commiſſioners*, the *Abbot* of *Abbington*, Sir *Richard Tunſtal*, and Chaplain *Urſwick* formerly employed, to do their utmoſt endeavours, to manage the *Treaty* roundly and ſtrongly.

About this time the Lord *Woodvile*, (Uncle to the Queen) a valiant Gentleman, and deſirous of Honour, ſued to the King, that he might raiſe ſome *Power* of *Voluntaries* under-hand, and without licence or paſport (wherein the King might any ways appear) go to the ayd of the Duke of *Britain*. The King denyed his requeſt, (or at leaſt ſeemed ſo to do) and laid ſtrait Commandment upon him, that he ſhould not ſtir, for that the King thought his Honour would ſuffer therein, during a *Treaty*, to better a Party. Nevertheleſs this Lord (either being unruly, or out of conceit that the King would not inwardly diſlike that, which

which he would not openly avow) ſailed ſecretly over into the Iſle of *Wight*, whereof he was Governour, and levied a fair Troop of four hundred men, and with them paſſed over into *Britain*, and joyned himſelf with the Duke's forces. The news whereof when it came to the *French* Court, put divers Young bloods into ſuch a fury, as the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were not without peril to be outraged. But the *French* King, both to preſerve the Priviledge of Ambaſſadors, and being conſcious to himſelf, that in the buſineſs of Peace, he himſelf was the greater diſſembler of the two, forbad all injuries of fact or word, againſt their Perſons, or Followers. And preſently came an Agent from the King, to purge himſelf touching the Lord *Woodvile*'s going over, uſing for a principal argument, to demonſtrate that it was without his privity, for that the Troops were ſo ſmall, as neither had the face of a Succour by Authority, nor could much advance the *Britains* Affairs. To which Meſſage, although the *French* King gave no full credit, yet he made fair weather with the King, and ſeemed ſatisfied. Soon after the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors returned, having two of them been likewiſe with the Duke of *Britain*, and found things in no other terms, than they were before. Upon their return, they informed the King of the ſtate of the Affairs, and how far the *French* King was from any true meaning of Peace; and therefore he was now to adviſe of ſome other courſe. Neither was the King himſelf led all this while with credulity meerly, as was generally ſuppoſed; but his Errour was not ſo much facility of belief, as an ill-meaſuring of the Forces of the other Party.

For (as was partly touched before) the King had caſt the buſineſs thus with himſelf. He took it for granted in his own judgement, that the War of *Britain*, in reſpect of the ſtrength of the *Towns*, and of the *Party*, could not ſpeedily come to a period. For he conceived that the Counſels of a War, that was undertaken by the *French* King, then Childleſs, againſt an Heir-apparent of *France*, would be very faint and ſlow. And beſides, that it was not poſſible, but that the ſtate of *France* ſhould be embroyled with ſome troubles and alterations in favour of the Duke of *Orleance*. He conceived likewiſe, that *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, was a Prince warlike and potent, who (he made account) would give ſuccours to the *Britains* roundly. So then judging it would be a work of Time, he laid his Plot, how he might beſt make uſe of that Time, for his own affairs. Wherein firſt he thought to make his vantage upon his *Parliament*; knowing that they being affectionate unto the Quarrel of *Britain*, would give Treaſure largely. Which Treaſure, as a noiſe of War might draw forth, ſo a Peace ſucceeding might coffer up. And becauſe he knew his People were hot upon the buſineſs, he choſe rather to ſeem to be deceived, and lulled aſleep

aſleep by the *French*, than to be backward in himſelf; conſidering his Subjects were not ſo fully capable of the reaſons of State, which made him hold back. Wherefore to all theſe purpoſes he ſaw no other expedient, than to ſet and keep on foot a continual *Treaty* of *Peace*; laying it down, and taking it up again, as the occurrence required. Beſides, he had in conſideration the point of Honour in bearing the bleſſed perſon of a *Pacificator*. He thought likewiſe to make uſe of the Envy, that the *French* King met with, by occaſion of this War of *Britain*, in ſtrengthning himſelf with new Alliances, as namely that of *Ferdinando* of *Spain*, with whom he had ever a conſent even in Nature and Cuſtoms, and likewiſe with *Maximilian*, who was particularly intereſſed. So that in ſubſtance he promiſed himſelf Money, Honour, Friends, and Peace in the end. But thoſe things were too fine to be fortunate, and ſucceed in all parts; for that great affairs are commonly too rough and ſtubborn to be wrought upon by the finer edges, or points of Wit. The King was likewiſe deceived in his two main grounds. For although he had reaſon to conceive, that the *Council* of *France* would be wary to put the King into a War againſt the *Heir-apparent* of *France*; yet he did not conſider, that *Charles* was not guided by any of the principal of the *Blood* or *Nobility*, but by mean men, who would make it their Maſter-piece, of Credit and Favour, to give venturous Counſels, which no great or wiſe man durſt or would. And for *Maximilian*, he was thought then a Greater-matter than he was; his unſtable and neceſſitous Courſes being not then known.

After Conſultation with the Ambaſſadors, who brought him no other news, than he expected before, (though he would not ſeem to know it till then) he preſently ſummoned his *Parliament*, and in open *Parliament* propounded the Cauſe of *Britain* to both Houſes, by his Chancellor *Morton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſpake to this effect:

MY Lords and Maſters; The King's Grace our Sovereign Lord, hath commanded me to declare unto you the Cauſes that have moved him at this time to ſummon this his Parliament; which I ſhall do in few words, craving Pardon of his Grace, and you all, if I perform it not as I would.

His Grace doth firſt of all let you know, that he retaineth in thankful memory the Love and Loyalty ſhewed to him by you, at your laſt Meeting, in Eſtabliſhment of his Royalty; freeing and diſcharging of his Partakers, and confiſcation of his Traytors and Rebels: more than which could not come from Subjects to their Sovereign, in one action. This he taketh ſo well at your hands, as he hath made it a Reſolution to himſelf to communicate with ſo loving and well-approved Subjects, in all Affairs that are of publick nature, at home or abroad.

Two therefore are the causes of your present Assembling: the one, a Forein business; the other, matter of Government at home.

The French *King (as no doubt ye have heard) maketh at this present hot War upon the Duke of* Britain. *His Army is now before* Nantes, *and holdeth it straitly Besieged, being the principal City (if not in Creremony and Preheminence, yet in Strength and Wealth) of that* Duchy. *Ye may guess at his Hopes, by his attempting of the hardest part of the War first. The cause of this War he knoweth best. He alledgeth the entertaining and succouring of the Duke of* Orleance, *and some other* French *Lords, whom the King taketh for his Enemies. Others divine of other Matters. Both parts have by their Ambassadors divers times prayed the King's Ayds: The* French *King, Ayds or Neutrality; the* Britons, *Ayds simply; for so their case requireth. The King, as a Christian Prince, and blessed Son of the Holy Church, hath offered himself as a Mediator, to treat a Peace between them. The* French *King yieldeth to Treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the War. The* Britons, *that desire Peace most, hearken to it least; not upon confidence or stiffness, but upon distrust of true meaning, seeing the War goes on. So as the King, after as much pains and care to effect a Peace, as ever he took in any business, not being able to remove the Prosecution on the one side, nor the Distrust on the other, caused by that Prosecution, hath let fall the* Treaty; *not repenting of it, but despairing of it now, as not likely to succeed. Therefore by this Narrative you now understand the state of the Question, whereupon the King prayeth your Advice; which is no other, but whether he shall enter into an auxiliary and defensive War for the* Britons, *against* France.

And the better to open your understandings in this Affair, the King hath commanded me to say somewhat to you from him, of the Persons that do intervene in this Business; and somewhat of the Consequence thereof, as it hath relation to this Kingdom; and somewhat of the Example of it in general: making nevertherless no Conclusion or Judgement of any Point, until his Grace hath received your faithful and politique Advices.

First, for the King our Sovereign himself, who is the principal Person you are to eye in this business; his Grace doth profess, that he truly and constantly desireth to reign in Peace. But his Grace saith, he will neither buy Peace with Dishonour, nor take it up at interest of Danger to ensue; but shall think it a good Change, if it pleased God to change the inward Troubles and Seditions, wherewith he hath been hitherto exercised, into an honourable Forein War. And for the other two Persons in this Action, the French *King, and the Duke of* Britain, *his Grace doth declare unto you, that they be the men, unto whom he is of all other Friends and Allies most bounden: the one having held over him his hand of Protection from the Tyrant; the other having reacht forth unto him his hand of help, for the Recovery of his Kingdom. So that his affection toward them in his natural Person, is upon equal*

terms. And whereas you may have heard, that his Grace was enforced to fly out of Britain into France, for doubts of being betrayed; his Grace would not in any ſort have that reflect upon the Duke of Britain, in defacement of his former benefits: for that he is throughly informed, that it was but the practice of ſome corrupt perſons about him, during the time of his Sickneſs, altogether without his conſent or privity.

But howſoever theſe things do intereſs his Grace in his particular, yet he knoweth well that the higher Bond that tyeth him to procure by all means the ſafety and welfare of his loving Subjects, doth diſ-intereſs him of theſe Obligations of Gratitude, otherwiſe than thus; that if his Grace be forced to make a War, he do it without Paſſion, or Ambition.

For the conſequence of this Action towards this Kingdom, it is much as the French King's intention is. For if it be no more, but to range his Subjects to reaſon, who bear themſelves ſtout upon the ſtrength of the Duke of Britain, it is nothing to us. But if it be in the French King's purpoſe, or if it ſhould not be in his purpoſe, yet if it ſhall follow all one, as if it were ſought, that the French King ſhall make a Province of Britain, and joyn it to the Crown of France: then it is worthy the conſideration, how this may import England, as well in the increaſement of the greatneſs of France, by the addition of ſuch a Countrey, that ſtretcheth his Boughs unto our Seas, as in depriving this Nation, and leaving it ſo naked of ſo firm and aſſured Confederates, as the Britons have always been. For then it will come to paſs, that whereas not long ſince, this Realm was mighty upon the Continent, firſt in Territory, and after in Alliance, in reſpect of Burgundy and Britain, which were Confederates indeed, but dependant Confederates; now the one being already caſt, partly into the greatneſs of France, and partly into that of Auſtria, the other is like wholly to be caſt into the greatneſs of France, and this Iſland ſhall remain confined in effect within the Salt-Waters, and girt about with the Coaſt-Countries of two mighty Monarchs.

For the Example, it reſteth likewiſe upon the ſame Queſtion, upon the French King's intent. For if Britain be carried and ſwallowed up by France, as the World abroad (apt to impute and conſtrue the Actions of Princes to Ambition) conceive it will; then it is an Example very dangerous and univerſal, that the leſſer Neighbour-Eſtate ſhould be devoured of the greater. For this may be the caſe of Scotland, towards England; of Portugal, towards Spain; of the ſmaller Eſtates of Italy, towards the greater; and ſo of Germany; or as if ſome of you of the Commons might not live and dwell ſafely, beſides ſome of theſe great Lords. And the bringing in of this Example, will be chiefly laid to the King's charge, as to him that was moſt intereſſed and moſt able to forbid it. But then on the other ſide, there is ſo fair a Pretext on the French King's part, (and yet pretext is never wanting to power) in regard the danger imminent to his own Eſtate is ſuch, as may make this Enterprize ſeem rather a work of Neceſſity, than of Ambition,

Ambition, as doth in reaſon correct the Danger of the Example. For that the Example of that which is done in a man's own defence, cannot be dangerous; becauſe it is in another's power to avoid it. But in all this buſineſs, the King remits himſelf to your grave and mature Advice, whereupon he purpoſeth to rely.

This was the effect of the Lord *Chancellor*'s Speech touching the Cauſe of *Britain*: For the King had commanded him to carry it ſo, as to affect the *Parliament* towards the Buſineſs; but without engaging the King in any expreſs Declaration.

The *Chancellor* went on:

FOR that which may concern the Government at home, the King hath commanded me to ſay unto you; That he thinketh there was never any King (for the ſmall time that he hath reigned) had greater and juſter cauſe of the two contrary Paſſions of Joy and Sorrow, than his Grace hath. Joy, in reſpect of the rare and viſible Favours of Almighty GOD in girting the Imperial Sword upon his ſide, and aſſiſting the ſame his Sword againſt all his Enemies: and likewiſe in bleſſing him with ſo many good and loving Servants and Subjects, which have never failed to give him faithful Counſel, ready Obedience, and courageous Defence. Sorrow, for that it hath not pleaſed God to ſuffer him to ſheath his Sword, (as he greatly deſired, otherwiſe than for Adminiſtration of Juſtice) but that he hath been forced to draw it ſo oft, to cut off Trayterous and diſloyal Subjects, whom (it ſeems) God hath left (a few amongſt many good) as the Canaanites *among the People of* Iſrael, *to be thorns in their ſides, to tempt and try them; though the end hath been always (God's Name be bleſſed therefore) that the Deſtruction hath faln upon their own Heads.*

Wherefore his Grace ſaith; That he ſeeth, that it is not the Blood ſpilt in the Field, that will ſave the Blood in the City, *not the* Marſhal's *Sword, that will ſet this Kingdom in perfect Peace: But that the true way is, to ſtop the Seeds of Sedition and Rebellion in their beginnings; and for that purpoſe to deviſe, confirm, and quicken good and wholſom Laws, againſt Riots and unlawful Aſſemblies of People, and all Combinations and Confederacies of them, by Liveries, Tokens, and other Badges of Factions dependance; that the Peace of the* Land *may by theſe Ordinances, as by Bars of Iron, be ſoundly bound in and ſtrengthned, and all Force, both in Court, Countrey, and private Houſes, be ſuppreſt. The care hereof, which ſo much concerneth your ſelves, and which the nature of the Times doth inſtantly call for, his Grace commends to your Wiſdoms.*

And becauſe it is the King's deſire, that this Peace, wherein he hopeth to govern and maintain you, do not bear only unto you Leaves for you to ſit under the ſhade of them in Safety; but alſo ſhould bear you fruit of Riches, Wealth and Plenty: Therefore his Grace prays you,

to take into consideration matter of Trade, as also the Manufactures of the Kingdom, and to repress the bastard and barren Employment of Moneys, to Usury and unlawful Exchanges, that they may be (as their natural use is) turned upon Commerce, and lawful and Royal Trading. And likewise, that Our People be set on work in Arts and Handy-crafts; that the Realm may subsist more of it self; that Idleness be avoided, and the draining out of our Treasure, for Foreign Manufactures, stopped. But you are not to rest here only, but to provide further, that whatsoever Merchandize shall be brought in from beyond the Seas, may be employed upon the Commodities of this Land; whereby the Kingdoms stock of Treasure may be sure to be kept from being diminished, by any over-trading of the Foreiner.

And lastly, because the King is well assured, that you would not have him poor, that wishes you rich; he doubteth not, but that you will have care, as well to maintain his Revenues, of Customs, and all other Natures, as also to supply him with your loving Ayds, if the case shall so require. The rather, for that you know the King is a good Husband, and but a Steward in effect for the Publick; and that what comes from you is but as Moisture drawn from the Earth, which gathers into a Cloud, and falls back upon the Earth again. And you know well, how the Kingdoms about you grow more and more in Greatness, and the Times are stirring; and therefore not fit to find the King with an empty Purse. More I have not to say to you; and wish, that what hath been said, had been better expresst: But that your Wisdoms and good Affections will supply. GOD bless your Doings.

IT was no hard matter to dispose and affect the *Parliament* in this Business, as well in respect of the Emulation between the Nations, and the Envy at the late growth of the *French* Monarchy; as in regard of the Danger, to suffer the *French* to make their approaches upon *England*, by obtaining so goodly a Maritim Province, full of Sea-Towns, and Havens, that might do mischief to the *English*, either by Invasion, or by interruption of Traffick. The *Parliament* was also moved with the point of *Oppression*; for although the *French* seemed to speak Reason, yet Arguments are ever with multitudes too weak for Suspitions. Wherefore they did advise the King roundly to embrace the *Britons* Quarrel, and to send them speedy Ayds, and with much alacrity and forwardness granted to the King a great rate of Subsidy, in contemplation of these Ayds. But the King both to keep a decency towards the *French* King, to whom he profest himself to be obliged, and indeed desirous rather to shew War, than to make it; sent new solemn Ambassadors to intimate unto him, the *Decree* of his *Estates*, and to iterate his motion, that the *French* would desist from Hostilitiy; or if War must follow, to desire him to take it in good part, if at the motion of his People, who were sensible of the cause of the *Britons* as the ancient Friends,

Friends, and Confederates, he did ſend them Succours; with proteſtation nevertheleſs, that to ſave all Treaties and Laws of Friendſhip, he had limited his Force, to proceed in ayd of the *Britons*, but in no wiſe to war upon the *French*, otherwiſe than as they maintained the poſſeſſion of *Britain*. But before this formal Ambaſſage arrived, the *Party* of the Duke had received a great blow, and grew to manifeſt declination. For near the Town of Saint *Alban* in *Britain*, a Battel had been given, where the *Britons* were overthrown, and the Duke of *Orleance*, and the Prince of *Orange* taken Priſoners; there being ſlain on the *Britons* part ſix thouſand men, and amongſt them the Lord *Woodvile*, and almoſt all his Souldiers, valiantly fighting. And of the *French* part one thouſand two hundred, with their Leader, *James Galeot*, a great Commander.

When the news of this Battel came over into *England*, it was time for the King (who now had no ſubterfuge to continue further *Treaty*, and ſaw before his Eyes, that *Britain* went ſo ſpeedily for loſt, contrary to his hopes, knowing alſo that with his People and Foreiners both, he ſuſtained no ſmall Envy and diſreputation for his former delays) to diſpatch with all poſſible ſpeed his Succour into *Britain*; which he did under the Conduct of *Robert* Lord *Brook*, to the number of eight thouſand choiſe men, and well armed; who having a fair wind, in few hours landed in *Britain*, and joyned themſelves forthwith to thoſe *Briton* Forces, that remained after the Defeat, and marched ſtraight on to find the *Enemy*, and encamped faſt by them. The *French* wiſely husbanding the poſſeſſion of a Victory, and well acquainted with the Courage of the *Engliſh*, eſpecially when they are freſh, kept themſelves within their Trenches, being ſtrongly lodged, and reſolved not to give Battel. But meanwhile, to harraſs and weary the *Engliſh*, they did upon all advantages ſet upon them with their *Light-horſe*; wherein nevertheleſs they received commonly loſs, eſpecially by means of the *Engliſh* Archers.

But upon theſe Atchievements *Francis* Duke of *Britain* deceaſed; an accident that the King might eaſily have foreſeen, and ought to have reckoned upon, and provided for, but that the Point of *Reputation*, when news firſt came of the Battel loſt, (that ſomewhat muſt be done) did over-bear the *Reaſon* of War.

After the Duke's deceaſe, the principal perſons of *Britain*, partly bought, partly through faction, put all things into confuſion; ſo as the *Engliſh* not finding Head or Body with whom to joyn their Forces, and being in jealouſie of *Friends*, as well as in danger of *Enemies*, and the Winter begun, returned home five Months after their landing. So the Battel of Saint *Alban*, the death of the Duke, and the retire of the *Engliſh* Succours were (after ſome time) the cauſes of the loſs of that *Duchy*; which

which action ſome accounted as a blemiſh of the King's Judgement; but moſt, but as the misfortune of his times.

But howſoever the temporary Fruit of the *Parliament* in their Ayd and Advice given for *Britain*, took not, nor proſpered not; yet the laſting Fruit of *Parliament*, which is good and wholeſom Laws, did proſper, and doth yet continue to this day. For according to the Lord *Chancellor*'s admonition, there were that *Parliament* divers excellent Laws ordained, concerning the Points which the King recommended.

Firſt, the Authority of the *Star-Chamber*, which before ſubſiſted by the ancient Common-Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain Caſes by Act of *Parliament*. This Court is one of the ſageſt and nobleſt Inſtitutions of this Kingdom. For in the diſtribution of Courts of Ordinary Juſtice (beſides the High Court of *Parliament*) in which diſtribution the *King's-Bench* holdeth the *Pleas* of the *Crown*, the *Common-Place*, *Pleas-Civil*, the *Exchequer-Pleas* concerning the King's Revenue, and the *Chancery* the Pretorian power for mitigating the rigour of Law, in caſe of extremity, by the conſcience of a good man; there was nevertheleſs always reſerved a high and preheminent power to the King's *Council*, in Cauſes that might in example, or conſequence, concern the ſtate of the Common-wealth, which if they were Criminal, the *Council* uſed to ſit in the *Chamber*, called the *Star-Chamber*; if Civil, in the *White-Chamber*, or *White-Hall*. And as the *Chancery* had the Pretorian power for Equity, ſo the *Star-Chamber* had the Cenſorian power for Offences, under the degree of Capital. This Court of *Star-Chamber* is compounded of good Elements: for it conſiſteth of four kinds of Perſons, Counſellors, Peers, Prelates, and chief Judges. It diſcerneth alſo principally of four kinds of Cauſes; Forces, Frauds, Crimes various of Stellionate, and the Inchoations or middle acts towards Crimes capital, or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this act was Force, and the two chief Supports of Force, Combination of Multitudes, and Maintenance or Headſhip of Great perſons.

From the general peace of the *Country*, the King's care went on to the peace of the *King's Houſe*, and the ſecurity of his great *Officers* and *Counſellors*. But this Law was ſomewhat of a ſtrange compoſition and temper; That if any of the King's Servants under the degree of a Lord, do conſpire the death of any of the King's *Council*, or *Lord* of the Realm, it is made Capital. This Law was thought to be procured by the Lord *Chancellor*, who being a ſtern and haughty man, and finding he had ſome mortal Enemies in Court, provided for his own ſafety, drowning the envy of it in a general Law, by communicating the priviledge with all other *Counſellors* and *Peers*, and yet not daring to extend it further,

further, than to the King's Servants in *Check-roll*, leſt it ſhould have been too harſh to the Gentlemen, and other Commons of the Kingdom; who might have thought their ancient Liberty, and the clemency of the Laws of *England* invaded, *If the will in any caſe of Felony ſhould be made the deed.* And yet the reaſon which the Act yieldeth (that is to ſay, *That he that conſpireth the death of Counſellors may be thought indirectly, and by a mean, to conſpire the death of the King himſelf,*) is indifferent to all *Subjects*, as well as to *Servants* in Court. But it ſeemeth this ſufficed to ſerve the Lord *Chancellor*'s turn at this time. But yet he lived to need a General Law, for that he grew afterwards as odious to the *Countrey*, as he was then to the *Court.*

From the peace of the King's Houſe, the King's care extended to the peace of *Private Houſes* and *Families.* For there was an excellent Moral Law molded thus; The taking and carrying away of *Women* forcibly, and againſt their will (except *Female-Wards* and *Bond-Women*) was made Capital. The *Parliament* wiſely and juſtly conceiving, that the obtaining of *Women* by force into *Poſſeſſion* (howſoever afterwards Aſſent might follow by Allurements) was but a *Rape* drawn forth in length, becauſe the firſt Force drew on all the reſt.

There was made alſo another Law for Peace in general, and repreſſing of *Murthers* and *Man-ſlaughters*, and was in amendment of the Common Laws of the Realm, being this: That whereas by the Common Law, the King's Suit in caſe of *Homicide*, did expect the *Year* and the *Day*, allowed to the Parties Suit by way of *Appeal*; and that it was found by experience, that the Party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the Suit, ſo that in the end ſuch Suit was let fall, and by that time the matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby *Proſecution* at the King's Suit by *Indictment* (which is ever beſt, *Flagrante crimine*) neglected; it was Ordained, That the Suit by *Indictment* might be taken as well at any time within the *Year* and the *Day*, as after, not prejudicing nevertheleſs the Parties Suit.

The King began alſo then, as well in Wiſdom as in Juſtice to pare a little the Priviledge of Clergy, ordaining, *That Clerks convict ſhould be burned in the hand*; both becauſe they might taſte of ſome corporal Puniſhment, and that they might carry a *Brand* of Infamy. But for this good Acts ſake, the King himſelf was after branded by *Perkin*'s Proclamation, for an execrable breaker of the Rites of *Holy Church.*

Another Law was made for the better Peace of the *Countrey*; by which Law the King's Officers and Farmors were to forfeit their Places and Holds, in caſe of unlawful *Retainer*, or partaking in *Routs* and unlawful Aſſemblies.

Theſe were the Laws that were made for repreſſing of *Force*, which

which thoſe times did chiefly require; and were ſo prudently framed, as they are found fit for all ſucceeding times, and ſo continue to this day.

There were alſo made good and politick Laws that *Parliament* againſt *Uſury*, which is the *Baſtard-uſe* of Money; And againſt unlawful *Chievances* and *Exchanges*, which is Baſtard-Uſury; And alſo for the Security of the King's *Cuſtoms*; And for the Employment of the *Procedures* of Forein Commodities, brought in by *Merchant-ſtrangers*, upon the Native-Commodities of the Realm; together with ſome other Laws of leſs importance.

But howſoever the Laws made in that *Parliament* did bear good and wholeſom Fruit; yet the *Subſidy* granted at the ſame time, bare a Fruit, that proved harſh and bitter. All was inned at laſt into the King's Barn; but it was after a *Storm*. For when the Commiſſioners entred into the Taxation of the Subſidy in *Yorkſhire*, and the Biſhoprick of *Dureſm*; the People upon a ſudden grew into great mutiny, and ſaid openly, that they had endured of late years a thouſand miſeries, and neither could nor would pay the Subſidy. This (no doubt) proceeded not ſimply of any preſent neceſſity, but much by reaſon of the old humour of thoſe Countries, where the memory of King *Richard* was ſo ſtrong, that it lyes like *Lees* in the bottom of mens hearts; and if the *Veſſel* was but ſtirred, it would come up. And (no doubt) it was partly alſo by the inſtigation of ſome factious Malecontents, that bare principal ſtroke amongſt them. Hereupon the *Commiſſioners* being ſomewhat aſtoniſhed, deferred the matter unto the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the principal man of Authority in thoſe Parts. The Earl forthwith wrote unto the Court, ſignifying to the King plainly enough in what flame he found the people of thoſe Countries, and praying the King's direction. The King wrote back peremptorily; That he would not have one penny abated, of that which had been granted to him by *Parliament*, both becauſe it might encourage other Countries to pray the like Releaſe or Mitigation, and chiefly, becauſe he would never endure, that the baſe *Multitude* ſhould fruſtrate the Authority of the *Parliament*, wherein their *Votes* and Conſents were concluded. Upon this diſpatch from Court, the Earl aſſembled the principal *Juſtices* and *Free-holders* of the Countrey; and ſpeaking to them in that imperious Language wherein the King had written to him, which needed not, (ſave that an harſh buſineſs was unfortunately fallen into the hands of a harſh man,) did not only irritate the People, but make them conceive, by the ſtoutneſs and haughtineſs of delivery of the King's Errand; that himſelf was the Author or principal Perſwader of that Counſel. Whereupon the meaner ſort routed together, and ſuddenly aſſailing the Earl in his houſe, ſlew him, and divers of his ſervants. And reſted not there, but creating for their Leader Sir

John

John Egremond, a factious perſon, and one that had of a long time born an ill *Talent* towards the King; and being animated alſo by a baſe Fellow, called *John A Chamber*, a very Boutefeu, who bare much ſway amongſt the vulgar and popular, entred into open Rebellion, and gave out in flat terms that they would go againſt King *Henry*, and fight with him for the maintenance of their Liberties.

When the King was advertiſed of this new *Inſurrection* (being almoſt a Fever that took him every year) after his manner little troubled therewith, he ſent *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* (whom he had a little before not only releaſed out of the *Tower*, and pardoned, but alſo received to ſpecial favour) with a competent Power againſt the *Rebels*; who fought with the principal Band of them, and defeated them, and took alive *John A Chamber*, their firebrand. As for Sir *John Egremond*, he fled into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret* of *Burgundy*; whoſe Palace was the *Sanctuary* and Receptacle of all Traytors againſt the King. *John A Chamber* was Executed at *York*, in great ſtate; for he was hanged upon a Gibbet raiſed a Stage higher in the midſt of a ſquare Gallows, as a Traytor paramount; and a number of his men that were his chief Complices, were hanged upon the lower Story round about him; and the reſt were generally pardoned. Neither did the King himſelf omit his cuſtom, to be firſt or ſecond in all his Warlike Exploits; making good his Word, which was uſual with him when he heard of *Rebels*; that *He deſired but to ſee them.* For immediately after he had ſent down the Earl of *Surrey*, he marched towards them himſelf in perſon. And although in his journey he heard news of the Victory, yet he went on as far as *York*, to pacifie and ſettle thoſe Countries. And that done returned to *London*, leaving the Earl of *Surrey* for his Lieutenant in the Northern parts, and Sir *Richard Tunſtal* for his principal Commiſſioner, to levy the *Subſidy*, whereof he did not remit a *Denier.*

About the ſame time that the King loſt ſo good a Servant, as the Earl of *Northumberland*, he loſt likewiſe a faithful Friend and Allie of *James* the Third, King of *Scotland*, by a miſerable diſaſter. For this unfortunate Prince, after a long ſmother of diſcontent, and hatred of many of his Nobility and People, breaking forth at times into ſeditions and alterations of Court, was at laſt diſtreſſed by them, having taken Arms, and ſurpriſed the perſon of Prince *James* his Son, partly by force, partly by threats that they would otherwiſe deliver up the Kingdom to the King of *England*, to ſhadow their Rebellion, and to be the titular and painted Head of thoſe Arms. Whereupon the King (finding himſelf too weak) ſought unto King *Henry*, as alſo unto the Pope, and the King of *France*, to compoſe thoſe troubles, between him and his Subjects. The King accordingly interpoſed their Mediation in a round and Princely manner: Not only by way of

requeſt and perſwaſion, but alſo by way of proteſtation of menace; declaring, that they thought it to be the common Cauſe of all Kings, *If Subjects ſhould be ſuffered to give Laws unto their Sovereign*; and that they would accordingly reſent it, and revenge it. But the *Rebels* that had ſhaken off the greater *Yoak* of Obedience, had likewiſe caſt away the leſſer *Tye* of Reſpect. And *Fury* prevailing above *Fear*, made anſwer, That there was no talking of Peace, except the King would reſign his Crown. Whereupon (Treaty of Accord taking no place) it came to a Battel, at *Bannocks-bourn* by *Strivelin*. In which Battel, the King tranſported with wrath and juſt indignation, inconſiderately fighting and precipitating the charge, before his whole numbers came up to him, was (notwithſtanding the contrary expreſs and ſtraight commandment of the *Prince* his Son) ſlain in the Purſuit, being fled to a Mill, ſituate in the field, where the Battel was fought.

As for the *Pope*'s Embaſſy, which was ſent by *Adrian de Caſtello* an *Italian* Legate, (and perhaps, as thoſe times were, might have prevailed more) it came too late for the Embaſſy, but not for the Ambaſſador. For paſſing through *England*, and being honourably entertained, and received of King *Henry*; (who ever applied himſelf with much reſpect to the See of *Rome*) he fell into great grace with the King, and great familiarity and friendſhip with *Morton* the Chancellor. In ſo much as the King taking a liking to him, and finding him to his mind, preferred him to the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, and afterwards to that of *Bath* and *Wells*, and employed him in many of his affairs of State, that had relation to *Rome*. He was a man of great learning, wiſdom, and dexterity in buſineſs of State; and having not long after aſcended to the degree of *Cardinal*, payd the King large tribute of his gratitude, in diligent and judicious advertiſement of the occurrents of *Italy*. Nevertheleſs in the end of his time, he was partaker of the conſpiracy, which Cardinal *Alphonſo Petrucci*, and ſome other Cardinals had plotted againſt the life of Pope *Leo*. And this offence in it ſelf ſo heinous, was yet in him aggravated by the motive thereof, which was not malice or diſcontent, but an aſpiring mind to the Papacy. And in this height of impiety there wanted not an intermixture of levity and folly; for that (as was generally believed) he was animated to expect the Papacy, by a fatal mockery, the Prediction of a *Soothſayer*; which was, *That one ſhould ſucceed Pope* Leo, *whoſe name ſhould be* Adrian, *an aged man of mean birth, and of great learning and wiſdom.* By which character, and figure, he took himſelf to be deſcribed, though it were fulfilled of *Adrian* the *Fleming*, Son of a *Dutch* Brewer, Cardinal of *Tortoſa*, and *Preceptor* unto *Charles* the Fifth, the ſame that not changing his Chriſten-name, was afterward called *Adrian* the Sixth.

But

But theſe things happened in the year following, which was the fifth of this King. But in the end of the fourth year the King had called again his *Parliament*, not as it ſeemeth for any particular occaſion of State. But the former *Parliament* being ended ſomewhat ſuddenly, in regard of the preparation for *Britain*, the King thought he had not remunerated his People ſufficiently with good *Laws*, which evermore was his Retribution for Treaſure. And finding by the Inſurrection in the *North*, there was diſcontentment abroad, in reſpect of the *Subſidy*, he thought it good to give his Subjects yet further contentment, and comfort in that kind. Certainly his times for good *Commonwealths Laws* did excell. So as he may juſtly be celebrated for the beſt *Law-giver* to this Nation, after King *Edward* the Firſt. For his *Laws* (who ſo marks them well) are deep, and not vulgar: not made upon the ſpur of a particular Occaſion for the preſent, but out of Providence of the future, to make the Eſtate of his People ſtill more and more happy; after the manner of the *Legiſlators* in ancient and Heroical times.

Firſt therefore he made a *Law*, ſuitable to his own Acts and Times. For as himſelf had in his Perſon and Marriage made a final Concord, in the great Suit and Title for the *Crown*; ſo by this Law he ſetled the like Peace and Quiet in the private Poſſeſſions of the Subjects. Ordaining, *That Fines thence-forth ſhould be final, to conclude all Strangers Rights*; and that upon *Fines* levied, and ſolemnly proclaimed, the *Subject* ſhould have his time of Watch for five years after his Title accrued; which if he forepaſſed, his Right ſhould be bound for ever after; with ſome exception nevertheleſs, of *Minors*, Married-women, and ſuch incompetent Perſons.

This *Statute* did in effect but reſtore an ancient Statute of the Realm, which was it ſelf alſo made but in affirmance of the *Common-Law*. The alteration had been by a Statute, commonly called the Statute of *Non-claim*, made in the time of *Edward* the Third. And ſurely this Law was a kind of *Prognoſtick* of the good Peace, which ſince his time hath (for the moſt part) continued in this Kingdom, until this day. For Statutes of *Non-claim* are fit for times of War, when mens heads are troubled, that they cannot intend their Eſtate; but Statutes, that quiet *Poſſeſſions*, are fitteſt for times of Peace, to extinguiſh Suits and Contentions, which is one of the *Banes* of Peace.

Another *Statute* was made of ſingular *Policy*, for the Population apparently, and (if it be throughly conſidered) for the *Soldiery*, and *Militar Forces* of the Realm.

Incloſures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby Arable Land (which could not be manured without People and Families) was turned into Paſture, which was eaſily rid by a few *Herdſ-men*; and Tenancies for *Years*, *Lives*, and *At Will* (where-

(whereupon much of the *Yeomandry* lived) were turned into Demeſnes. This bred a decay of People, and (by conſequence) a decay of *Towns, Churches, Tythes,* and the like. The King likewiſe knew full well, and in no wiſe forgot, that there enſued withal upon this a decay and diminution of *Subſidy* and *Taxes*; for the more Gentlemen, ever the lower Books of *Subſidies*. In remedying of this inconvenience, the King's Wiſdom was admirable, and the *Parliaments* at that time. *Incloſures* they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the improvement of the *Patrimony* of the Kingdom; nor *Tillage* they would not compel, for that was to ſtrive with Nature and Utility. But they took a courſe to take away depopulating *Incloſures*, and depopulating *Paſturage*, and yet not by that name, or by any Imperious expreſs *Prohibition*, but by conſequence. The Ordinance was, *That all Houſes of Husbandry, that were uſed with twenty Acres of Ground, and upwards, ſhould be maintained and kept up for ever; together with a competent proportion of Land to be uſed and occupied with them*; and in no wiſe to be ſevered from them, as by another *Statute*, made afterwards in his Succeſſors time, was more fully declared. This upon Forfeiture to be taken; not by way of Popular *Action*, but by ſeiſure of the Land it ſelf, by the King and Lords of the *Fee*, as to half the Profits, till the Houſes and Lands were reſtored. By this means the Houſes being kept up, did of neceſſity enforce a *Dweller*; and the proportion of Land for Occupation being kept up, did of neceſſity enforce that Dweller, not to be a Beggar or *Cottager*, but a man of ſome ſubſtance, that might keep Hinds and Servants, and ſet the Plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the *Might* and *Manner-hood* of the Kingdom, to have Ferms, as it were of a *Standard* ſufficient to maintain an able Body out of Penury, and did in effect amortize a great part of the Lands of the Kingdom unto the Hold and Occupation of the *Yeomanry* or *Middle people*, of a condition between *Gentlemen* and *Cottagers* or *Peſants*. Now, how much this did advance the *Militar power* of the Kingdom, is apparent by the true *Principles* of War, and the examples of other Kingdoms. For it hath been held by the general Opinion of men of beſt Judgement in the Wars (howſoever ſome few have varied, and that it may receive ſome diſtinction of Caſe) that the principal ſtrength of an Army conſiſteth in the *Infantry* or *Foot*. And to make good *Infantry*, it requireth men bred, not in a ſervile or indigent faſhion, but in ſome free and plentiful manner. Therefore if a *State* run moſt to *Noble-men* and *Gentlemen*, and that the *Husband-men* and *Plough-men* be but as their Work-folks and Labourers, or elſe meer *Cottagers*, (which are but *Houſed-Beggars*) you may have a good *Cavalry*, but never good ſtable Bands of *Foot*; like to *Coppice-Woods*, that if you leave in them *Staddles* too thick, they will run to Buſhes and Bryars, and have little clean Underwood.

wood. And this is to be ſeen in *France*, and *Italy*, and ſome other parts abroad, where in effect all is *Nobleſs*, or *Peſantry*, I ſpeak of people out of Towns, and no middle people; and therefore no good Forces of *Foot*: In ſo much, as they are enforced to employ Mercenary Bands, of *Switzers* and the like, for their *Battailions* of *Foot*; Whereby alſo it comes to paſs, that thoſe Nations have much People, and few Soldiers. Whereas the King ſaw, that contrariwiſe it would follow, that *England*, though much leſs in Territory, yet ſhould have infinitely more *Soldiers* of their native Forces, than thoſe other Nations have. Thus did the King ſecretly ſow *Hidra*'s teeth, whereupon (according to the *Poets* fiction) ſhould riſe up *Armed men* for the ſervice of the Kingdom.

The King alſo (having care to make his Realm potent, as well by *Sea* as by *Land*) for the better maintenance of the *Navy*, Ordained, *That Wines and Woads from the parts of* Gaſcoign *and* Languedock, *ſhould not be brought but in* Engliſh *Bottoms*; Bowing the ancient Policy of this Eſtate, from conſideration of *Plenty*, to conſideration of *Power*. For that almoſt all the ancient *Statutes* incite by all means *Merchant-ſtrangers*, to bring in all ſorts of Commodities; having for end *cheapneſs*, and not looking to the point of *State* concerning the *Naval-power*.

The King alſo made a *Statute* in that *Parliament* Monitory and Minatory, towards *Juſtices* of *Peace*, that they ſhould duly execute their Office, inviting complaints againſt them, firſt to their *Fellow Juſtices*, then to the *Juſtices* of *Aſſize*, then to the *King* or *Chancellor*; and that a *Proclamation*, which he had publiſhed of that Tenor, ſhould be read in open *Seſſions* four times a year, to keep them awake. Meaning alſo to have his Laws executed, and thereby to reap either *Obedience* or *Forfeitures*; (wherein towards his latter times he did decline too much to the left hand) he did ordain remedy againſt the practice that was grown in uſe, to ſtop and damp *Informations* upon *Penal Laws*, by procuring *Informations* by colluſion to be put in by the Confederates of the Delinquents, to be faintly proſecuted, and let fall at pleaſure, and pleading them in Bar of the *Informations*, which were proſecuted with effect.

He made alſo *Laws* for the correction of the *Mint*, and counterfeiting of Forein *Coyn* currant. And that no payment in *Gold* ſhould be made to any *Merchant-ſtranger*, the better to keep Treaſure within the Realm, for that *Gold* was the metal that lay in leaſt room.

He made alſo *Statutes* for the maintenance of *Drapery*, and the keeping of *Wools* within the Realm; and not only ſo, but for ſtinting, and limiting the prices of *Cloth*, one for the *finer*, and another for the *courſer* ſort. Which I note, both becauſe it was a rare thing to ſet prices by *Statute*, eſpecially upon our Home-Commodities; and becauſe of the wiſe *Model* of the *Act*, not preſcribing

preſcribing Prices, but ſtinting them not to exceed a rate, that the *Clothier* might drape accordingly as he might afford.

Divers other good *Statutes* were made that *Parliament*, but theſe were the principal. And here I do deſire thoſe, into whoſe hands this Work ſhall fall, that they do take in good part my long inſiſting upon the *Laws* that were made in this King's Reign; whereof I have theſe reaſons: Both becauſe it was the preheminent virtue and merit of this King, to whoſe memory I do honour, and becauſe it hath ſome correſpondence to my Perſon; but chiefly, becauſe (in my judgement) it is ſome defect even in the beſt Writers of *Hiſtory*, that they do not often enough ſummarily deliver and ſet down the moſt memorable *Laws*, that paſſed in the times whereof they write, being indeed the principal *Acts* of Peace. For although they may be had in *Original Books* of *Law* themſelves; yet that informeth not the judgement of *Kings* and *Counſellors*, and *Perſons* of *Eſtate*, ſo well as to ſee them deſcribed, and entred in the *Table* and *Pourtrait* of the Times.

About the ſame time, the King had a *Loan* from the *City* of *Four thouſand pounds*; which was double to that they lent before, and was duely and orderly payd back at the day, as the former likewiſe had been; the King ever chooſing rather to borrow too ſoon, than to pay too late, and ſo keeping up his Credit.

Neither had the King yet caſt off his cares and hopes touching *Britain*, but thought to maſter the occaſion by Policy, though his Arms had been unfortunate, and to bereave the *French* King of the fruit of his *Victory*. The ſumm of his deſign was, to encourage *Maximilian* to go on with his ſuit, for the Marriage of *Ann*, the Heir of *Britain*, and to ayd him to the conſummation thereof. But the affairs of *Maximilian* were at that time in great trouble and combuſtion, by a *Rebellion* of his Subjects in *Flanders*; eſpecially thoſe of *Bruges* and *Gaunt*, whereof the Town of *Bruges* (at ſuch time as *Maximilian* was there in perſon) had ſuddenly armed in tumult, and ſlain ſome of his principal Officers, and taken himſelf priſoner, and held him in durance, till they had enforced him, and ſome of his Counſellors, to take a ſolemn Oath to pardon all their offences, and never to queſtion and revenge the ſame in time to come. Nevertheleſs *Frederick* the Emperor would not ſuffer this reproach and indignity offered to his Son to paſs, but made ſharp Wars upon *Flanders*, to reclaim and chaſtiſe the Rebels. But the Lord *Ravenſtein*, a principal perſon about *Maximilian*, and one that had taken the Oath of *Abolition* with his Maſter, pretending the Religion thereof, but indeed upon private ambition, and (as it was thought) inſtigated and corrupted from *France*, forſook the Emperor and *Maximilian* his Lord, and made himſelf an Head of the popular Party, and ſeized upon the Towns of *Ipre* and *Sluce*, with both the Caſtles; and forthwith ſent to the Lord *Cordes*, Governour of *Picardy* under the

the *French* King, to deſire ayd, and to move him, that he on the behalf of the *French* King would be *Protector* of the united Towns, and by force of Arms reduce the reſt. The Lord *Cordes* was ready to embrace the occaſion, which was partly of his own ſetting, and ſent forthwith greater Forces, than it had been poſſible for him to raiſe on the ſudden, if he had not looked for ſuch a ſummons before, in ayd of the Lord *Ravenſtein*, and the *Flemmings*, with inſtructions to inveſt the Towns between *France* and *Bruges*. The *French* Forces beſieged a little Town called *Dixmue*, where part of the *Flemiſh* Forces joyned with them. While they lay at this ſiege, the King of *England*, upon pretence of the ſafety of the *Engliſh* Pale about *Calice*, but in truth being loth that *Maximilian* ſhould become contemptible, and thereby be ſhaken off by the States of *Britain* about this Marriage, ſent over the Lord *Morley* with a thouſand men unto the Lord *Daubigny*, then Deputy of *Calice*, with ſecret inſtructions to ayd *Maximilian*, and to raiſe the ſiege of *Dixmue*. The Lord *Daubigny* (giving it out that all was for the ſtrengthning of the *Engliſh* Marches) drew out of the Garriſons, of *Calice*, *Hammes*, and *Guines*, to the number of a thouſand men more. So that with the freſh Succours that came under the Conduct of the Lord *Morley*, they made up to the number of two thouſand, or better. Which Forces joyning with ſome Companies of *Almains*, put themſelves into *Dixmue*, not perceived by the Enemies; and paſſing through the Town with ſome re-enforcement, (from the Forces that were in the Town) aſſailed the Enemies Camp, negligently guarded, as being out of fear; where there was a bloody Fight, in which the *Engliſh* and their Partakers obtained the Victory, and ſlew to the number of eight thouſand men, with the loſs on the *Engliſh* part of a hundred or thereabouts; amongſt whom was the Lord *Morley*. They took alſo their great Ordnance, with much rich ſpoils, which they carried to *Newport*, whence the Lord *Daubigny* returned to *Calice*, leaving the hurt men, and ſome other Voluntaries in *Newport*. But the Lord *Cordes* being at *Ipre* with a great power of men, thinking to recover the loſs and diſgrace of the Fight at *Dixmue*, came preſently on, and ſate down before *Newport* and beſieged it; and after ſome days ſiege, he reſolved to try the fortune of an Aſſault: Which he did one day, and ſucceeded therein ſo far, that he had taken the principal Tower and Fort in that City, and planted upon it the *French* Banner. Whence nevertheleſs they were preſently beaten forth by the *Engliſh*, by the help of ſome freſh Succours of Archers arriving by good fortune (at the inſtant) in the Haven of *Newport*; Whereupon the Lord *Cordes* diſcouraged, and meaſuring the new Succours (which were ſmall) by the Succeſs, (which was great,) levied his Siege. By this means, matters grew more exaſperate between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, for that in the War

War of *Flanders*, the auxiliary Forces of *French* and *Engliſh* were much blooded one againſt another. Which Blood rankled the more, by the vain words of the Lord *Cordes*, that declared himſelf an open Enemy of the *Engliſh*, beyond that that appertained to the preſent Service; making it a common by-word of his, *That he could be content to lye in Hell ſeven years, ſo he might win* Calice *from the* Engliſh.

The King having thus upheld the Reputation of *Maximilian*, adviſed him now to preſs on his Marriage with *Britain* to a concluſion. Which *Maximilian* accordingly did, and ſo far forth prevailed both with the young Lady, and with the principal perſons about her, as the Marriage was conſummate by *Proxy*, with a *Ceremony* at that time in theſe parts new. For ſhe was not only publickly contracted, but ſtated as a *Bride*, and ſolemnly Bedded; and after ſhe was laid, there came in *Maximilian*'s Ambaſſador with Letters of *Procuration*, and in the preſence of ſundry Noble Perſonages, Men and Women, put his Leg (ſtript naked to the Knee) between the Eſpouſal-Sheets; to the end, that that *Ceremony* might be thought to amount to a Conſummation, and actual Knowledge. This done, *Maximilian* (whoſe property was to leave things then, when they were almoſt come to perfection, and to end them by imagination; like ill Archers, that draw not their Arrows up to the Head: and who might as eaſily have Bedded the Lady himſelf, as to have made a *Play* and *Diſguiſe* of it) thinking now all aſſured, neglected for a time his further proceeding, and intended his Wars. Mean-while, the *French* King (conſulting with his Divines, and finding that this pretended *Conſummation* was rather an *Invention* of Court, than any ways valid by the Laws of the Church) went more really to work, and by ſecret Inſtruments and cunning Agents, as well *Matrons* about the young Lady, as *Counſellors*, firſt ſought to remove the point of *Religion* and *Honour* out of the mind of the Lady her ſelf, wherein there was a double labour. For *Maximilian* was not only contracted unto the Lady, but *Maximilian*'s Daughter was likewiſe contracted to King *Charles*. So as the *Marriage halted upon both feet*, and was not clear on either ſide: But for the Contract with King *Charles*, the Exception lay plain and fair; for that *Maximilian*'s Daughter was under years of *Conſent*, and ſo not bound by Law, but a power of Diſagreement left to either part. But for the Contract made by *Maximilian* with the Lady her ſelf, they were harder driven; having nothing to alledge, but that it was done without the conſent of her Sovereign Lord, King *Charles*, whoſe Ward and Client ſhe was, and he to her in place of a Father; and therefore it was void, and of no force, for want of ſuch Conſent. Which defect (they ſaid) though it would not evacuate a *Marriage*, after *Cohabitation*, and *Actual Conſummation*, yet it was enough to make

void

void a *Contract*. For as for a pretended *Conſummation*, they made ſport with it, and ſaid; *That it was an argument, that* Maximilian *was a Widdower, and a cold Wooer, that could content himſelf to be a Bridegroom by Deputy, and would not make a little Journey, to put all out of queſtion.* So that the young Lady, wrought upon by theſe Reaſons, finely inſtilled by ſuch as the *French* King, (who ſpared for no Rewards or Promiſes) had made on his ſide; and allured likewiſe by the preſent Glory and Greatneſs of King *Charles*, (being alſo a young King, and a *Batchelor*) and loth to make her Countrey the Seat of a long and miſerable War; ſecretly yielded to accept of King *Charles*. But during this ſecret Treaty with the Lady, the better to ſave it from Blaſts of Oppoſition and Interruption, King *Charles* reſorting to his wonted Arts, and thinking to carry the *Marriage*, as he had carried the Wars, by entertaining the King of *England* in vain belief, ſent a ſolemn Ambaſſage by *Francis* Lord of *Luxemberg*, *Charles Marignian* and *Robert Gaguein*, General of the *Order* of the *Bonnes Hommes* of the *Trinity*, to treat Peace and League with the King; accoupling it with an *Article* in nature of a *Requeſt*, that the *French* King might with the King's good will (according unto his right of *Seigniory* and *Tutelage*) diſpoſe of the Marriage of the young Ducheſs of *Britain*, as he ſhould think good; offering by a Judicial proceeding to make void the Marriage of *Maximilian* by Proxy. Alſo all this while the better to amuſe the World, he did continue in his Court and cuſtody the Daughter of *Maximilian*, who formerly had been ſent unto him, to be bred and educated in *France*; not diſmiſſing or renvoying her, but contrariwiſe profeſſing and giving out ſtrongly, that he meant to proceed with that Match. And that for the Ducheſs of *Britain*, he deſired only to preſerve his right of *Seigniory*, and to give her in Marriage to ſome ſuch Allie, as might depend upon him.

When the three Commiſſioners came to the Court of *England*, they delivered their Ambaſſage unto the King, who remitted them to his *Council*; where ſome days after they had Audience, and made their Propoſition by the *Prior* of the *Trinity*, (who though he were third in place, yet was held the beſt Speaker of them) to this effect:

MY *Lords, the King our Maſter, the greateſt and mightieſt King that reigned in* France *ſince* Charles *the Great*, (*whoſe Name he beareth*) *hath nevertheleſs thought it no diſparagement to his Greatneſs, at this time to propound a Peace, yea, and to pray a Peace with the King of* England. *For which purpoſe he hath ſent us his Commiſſioners inſtructed and enabled with full and ample power, to treat and conclude; giving us further in charge, to open in ſome other buſineſs the ſecrets of his own intentions. Theſe be indeed the pretious* Love-tokens *between great Kings, to communicate one*

with another the true ſtate of their Affairs, and to paſs by nice Points of Honour, which ought not to give Law unto Affection. This I do aſſure your Lordſhips; It is not poſſible for you to imagine the true and cordial Love, that the King our Maſter beareth to your Sovereign, except you were near him, as we are. He uſeth his Name with ſo great reſpect; he remembreth their firſt acquaintance at Paris with ſo great contentment; nay, he never ſpeaks of him, but that preſently he falls into diſcourſe of the miſeries of great Kings, in that they cannot converſe with their Equals, but with Servants. This affection to your King's Perſon and Virtues, GOD hath put into the Heart of our Maſter, no doubt for the good of Chriſtendom, and for purpoſes yet unknown to us all. For other Root it cannot have, ſince it was the ſame to the Earl of Richmond, that it is now to the King of England. This is therefore the firſt motive that makes our King to deſire Peace, and League with your Sovereign: Good affection, and ſomewhat that he finds in his own Heart. This affection is alſo armed with reaſon of Eſtate. For our King doth in all candour and frankneſs of dealing open himſelf unto you; that having an honourable, yea, and a Holy purpoſe, to make a Voyage and War in remote parts, he conſidereth that it will be of no ſmall effect, in point of Reputation to his Enterprize, if it be known abroad, that he is in good peace with all his Neighbour Princes, and ſpecially with the King of England, whom for good cauſes he eſteemeth moſt.

But now (my Lords) give me leave to uſe a few words to remove all ſcruples and miſs-underſtandings, between your Sovereign and ours, concerning ſome late Actions; which if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder this Peace. To the end, that for matters paſt, neither King may conceive unkindneſs of other, nor think the other conceiveth unkindneſs of him. The late Actions are two; that of Britain, and that of Flanders. In both which, it is true, that the Subjects ſwords of both Kings, have encountred and ſtricken, and the ways and inclinations alſo of the two Kings, in reſpect of their Confederates and Allies, have ſevered.

For that of Britain, The King your Sovereign knoweth beſt what hath paſſed. It was a War of neceſſity on our Maſters part. And though the Motives of it were ſharp and piquant as could be, yet did he make that War rather with an Olive-branch, than a Laurel-branch in his hand, more deſiring Peace than Victory. Beſides, from time to time he ſent (as it were) Blank-papers to your King, to write the conditions of Peace. For though both his Honour and Safety went upon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious, to put into the King of England's hands. Neither doth our King on the other ſide make any unfriendly interpretation, of your King's ſending of Succours to the Duke of Britain; for the King knoweth well, that many things muſt be done of Kings for ſatisfaction of their People, and it is not hard to diſcern what is a King's own. But this matter of Britain is now (by the Act of GOD) ended and paſſed; and (as the King hopeth) like the way

of

of a Ship in the Sea, without leaving any impreſſion in either of the Kings minds; as he is ſure, for his part, it hath not done in his.

For the Action of Flanders; *As the former of* Britain *was a War of Neceſſity, ſo this was a War of Juſtice; which with a good King is of equal neceſſity, with danger of Eſtate, for elſe he ſhould leave to be a King. The Subjects of* Burgundy *are Subjects in Chief to the Crown of* France, *and their Duke the Homager and Vaſſal of* France. *They had wont to be good Subjects, howſoever* Maximilian *hath of late diſtempered them. They fled to the King for Juſtice, and deliverance from Oppreſſion. Juſtice he could not deny; Purchaſe he did not ſeek. This was good for* Maximilian, *if he could have ſeen it in people mutined, to arreſt Fury, and prevent Deſpair. My Lords, it may be this I have ſaid is needleſs, ſave that the King our Maſter is tender in any thing, that may but glance upon the Friendſhip of* England. *The amity between the two Kings (no doubt) ſtands entire and inviolate. And that their Subjects ſwords have claſhed, it is nothing unto the publick Peace of the Crowns; it being a thing very uſual in Auxiliary Forces of the beſt and ſtraiteſt Confederates, to meet and draw blood in the Field. Nay, many times there be Ayds of the ſame Nation on both ſides, and yet it is not (for all that)* A Kingdom divided in it ſelf.

It reſteth (my Lords) that I impart unto you a matter, that I know your Lordſhips all will much rejoyce to hear; as that which importeth the Chriſtian Common-weal more, than any Action that hath hapned of long time. The King our Maſter hath a purpoſe and determination, to make War upon the Kingdom of Naples; *being now in the poſſeſſion of a Baſtardſhip of* Arragon, *but appertaining unto his Majeſty, by clear and undoubted right; which if he ſhould not by juſt Arms ſeek to recover, he could neither acquit his Honour, nor anſwer it to his People. But his Noble and Chriſtian thoughts reſt not here. For his Reſolution and Hope is, to make the Re-conqueſt of* Naples, *but as a Bridge, to tranſport his Forces into* Grecia; *and not to ſpare Blood or Treaſure (if it were to the impawning of his Crown, and diſ-peopling of* France) *till either he hath overthrown the Empire of the* Ottomans, *or taken it in his way to Paradiſe. The King knoweth well, that this is a deſign, that could not ariſe in the mind of any King, that did not ſtedfaſtly look up unto GOD, whoſe quarrel this is, and from whom cometh both the Will, and the Deed. But yet it is agreeable to the Perſon that he beareth (though unworthy) of the* Thrice-Chriſtian *King, and the Eldeſt Son of the* Church. *Whereunto he is alſo invited by the Example (in more ancient time) of King* Henry *the Fourth of* England, *(the Firſt Renowned King of the Houſe of* Lancaſter, *Anceſtor, though not Progenitor to your King) who had a purpoſe towards the end of his time (as you know better) to make an Expedition into the* Holy Land; *and by the Example alſo (preſent before his eyes) of that Honourable and Religious War which the King of* Spain *now maketh, and hath almoſt brought to perfection, for the Recovery of the Realm of* Granada *from the* Moors. *And although this Enterprize may ſeem vaſt and unmeaſured, for the King*

to attempt that by his own Forces, wherein heretofore a Conjunction of moſt of the Chriſtian Princes hath found work enough; yet his Majeſty wiſely conſidereth, that ſometimes ſmaller Forces being united under one Command, are more effectual in Proof (though not ſo promiſing in Opinion and Fame) than much greater Forces, variouſly propounded by Aſſociations and Leagues; which commonly in a ſhort time after their beginnings, turn to Diſſociations and Diviſions. But (my Lords) that which is as a Voice from Heaven that called the King to this Enterprize, is a Rent at this time in the Houſe of the Ottomans. *I do not ſay, but there hath been Brother againſt Brother in that Houſe before, but never any that had refuge to the Arms of the Chriſtians, as now hath* Gemes, *(Brother unto* Bajazeth, *that reigneth) the far braver man of the two; the other being between a Monk and a Philoſopher, and better read in the* Alcoran *and* Averroes, *than able to weild the Scepter of ſo warlike an Empire. This therefore is the King our Maſter's memorable and heroical Reſolution for an* Holy War. *And becauſe he carrieth in this the perſon of a Chriſtian Soldier, as well as of a great Temporal Monarch; he beginneth with Humility, and is content for this cauſe, to beg Peace at the hands of other Chriſtian Kings. There remaineth only rather a Civil Requeſt, than any eſſential part of our Negotiation, which the King maketh to the King your Sovereign. The King (as the World knoweth) is Lord in chief of the Duchy of* Britain. *The Marriage of the Heir belongeth to him as Guardian. This is a private Patrimonial Right, and no buſineſs of Eſtate: yet nevertheleſs (to run a fair courſe with your King; whom he deſires to make another Himſelf, and to be one and the ſame thing with him) his Requeſt is, That with the King's Favour and Conſent, he may diſpoſe of her Marriage, as he thinketh good, and make void the intruded and pretended Marriage of* Maximilian, *according to Juſtice. This (my Lords) is all that I have to ſay, deſiring your pardon for my weakneſs in the delivery.*

THus did the *French* Ambaſſadors with great ſhew of their King's affection, and many ſugred words ſeek to adulce all matters between the two Kings, having two things for their ends; The one, to keep the King quiet till the Marriage of *Britain* was paſt, and this was but a *Summers-fruit*, which they thought was almoſt ripe, and would be ſoon gathered. The other was more laſting; and that was to put him into ſuch a temper as he might be no diſturbance or impediment to the Voyage for *Italy*. The Lords of the *Council* were ſilent; and ſaid only, *That they knew the Ambaſſadors would look for no anſwer, till they had reported to the King*; and ſo they roſe from *Council*. The King could not well tell what to think of the Marriage of *Britain*. He ſaw plainly the ambition of the *French* King was to impatronize himſelf of the *Duchy*; but he wondred he would bring into his Houſe a litigious Marriage, eſpecially conſidering who was his Succeſſor. But weighing one thing with another, he gave *Britain*

tain for loſt; but reſolved to make his profit of this buſineſs of *Britain*, as a quarrel for War; and that of *Naples*, as a Wrench and mean for Peace; being well advertiſed, how ſtrongly the King was bent upon that Action. Having therefore conferred divers times with his *Council*, and keeping himſelf ſomewhat cloſe, he gave a direction to the *Chancellor*, for a formal Anſwer to the Ambaſſadors, and that he did in the preſence of his *Council*. And after calling the *Chancellor* to him apart, bade him ſpeak in ſuch language, as was fit for a *Treaty* that was to end in a Breach; and gave him alſo a ſpecial *Caveat*, that he ſhould not uſe any words, to diſcourage the Voyage of *Italy*. Soon after the Ambaſſadors were ſent for to the *Council*, and the Lord *Chancellor* ſpake to them in this ſort:

MY *Lords Ambaſſadors, I ſhall make anſwer by the King's Commandment, unto the eloquent Declaration of you my Lord* Prior, *in a brief and plain manner. The King forgetteth not his former love and acquaintance with the King your Maſter. But of this there needeth no repetition. For if it be between them as it was, it is well; if there be any alteration, it is not words that will make it up.*

For the Buſineſs of Britain, *the King findeth it a little ſtrange that the* French *King maketh mention of it, as matter of well-deſerving at his hand. For that Deſerving was no more, but to make him his Inſtrument, to ſurprize one of his beſt Confederates. And for the Marriage, the King would not meddle in it if your Maſter would marry by the Book, and not by the Sword.*

For that of Flanders, *if the Subjects of* Burgundy *had appealed to your King, as their Chief Lord, at firſt, by way of Supplication, it might have had a ſhew of Juſtice. But it was a new form of Proceſs, for Subjects to impriſon their Prince firſt, and to ſlay his Officers, and then to be Complainants. The King ſaith, That ſure he is, when the* French *King, and himſelf ſent to the Subjects of* Scotland *(that had taken Arms againſt their King) they both ſpake in another Stile, and did in Princely manner ſignifie their deteſtation of Popular Attentates, upon the Perſon or Authority of Princes. But my Lords Ambaſſadors, the King leaveth theſe two actions thus: That on the one ſide, he hath not received any manner of ſatisfaction from you concerning them; and on the other, that he doth not apprehend them ſo deeply, as in reſpect of them, to refuſe to treat of Peace, if other things may go hand in hand. As for the War of* Naples, *and the Deſign againſt the* Turk; *the King hath commanded me expreſly to ſay, That he doth wiſh with all his heart, to his good Brother the* French *King, that his Fortunes may ſucceed according to his hopes, and honourable intentions. And whenſoever he ſhall hear, that he is prepared for* Grecia, *as your Maſter is pleaſed now to ſay, that he beggeth a Peace of the King, ſo the King will then beg of him a part in that War.*

But

But now my Lords Ambaſſadors, I am to propound unto you ſomewhat on the King's part. The King your Maſter hath taught our King what to ſay and demand. You ſay (my Lord Prior*) that your King is reſolved to recover his right to* Naples*, wrongfully detained from him. And that if he ſhould not thus do, he could not acquit his Honour, nor anſwer it to his People. Think (my Lords) that the King our Maſter ſaith the ſame thing over again to you touching* Normandy, Guien, Anjou, *yea and the Kingdom of* France *it ſelf. I cannot expreſs it better than in your own words: If therefore the* French *King ſhall conſent, that the King our Maſter's Title to* France *(at leaſt Tribute for the ſame) be handled in the Treaty, the King is content to go on with the reſt, otherwiſe he refuſeth to Treat.*

THE Ambaſſadors being ſomewhat abaſhed with this demand, anſwered in ſome heat; *That they doubted not, but the King their Sovereign's Sword would be able to maintain his Scepter:* And they aſſured themſelves, he neither could nor would yield to any diminution of the Crown of *France*, either in *Territory* or *Regality*. But howſoever, they were too great matters for them to ſpeak of, having no Commiſſion. It was replied, that the King looked for no other anſwer from them; but would forthwith ſend his own Ambaſſadors to the *French* King. There was a queſtion alſo asked at the table, *Whether the* French *King would agree to have the diſpoſing of the Marriage of* Britain *with an exception and excluſion, that he ſhould not marry her himſelf?* To which the Ambaſſadors anſwered; That it was ſo far out of their King's thoughts, as they had received no Inſtruction touching the ſame. Thus were the Ambaſſadors diſmiſſed, all ſave the *Prior*; and were followed immediately by *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, and *Thomas Goldenſton* Prior of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*, who were preſently ſent over into *France*. In the mean ſpace, *Lionel* Biſhop of *Concordia*, was ſent as *Nuntio* from Pope *Alexander* the ſixth to both Kings, to move a Peace between them. For Pope *Alexander* finding himſelf pent and lockt up, by a League and Aſſociation of the principal States of *Italy*, that he could not make his way for the advancement of his own Houſe, (which he immoderately thirſted after) was deſirous to trouble the waters in *Italy*, that he might fiſh the better; caſting the Net, not out of St. *Peter*'s, but out of *Borgia*'s Bark. And doubting leſt the fear from *England*, might ſtay the *French* King's voyage into *Italy*, diſpatched this Biſhop to compoſe all matters between the two Kings, if he could. Who firſt repaired to the *French* King, and finding him well inclined (as he conceived) took on his Journey towards *England*, and found the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at *Calice*, on their way towards the *French* King. After ſome conference with them, he was in honourable manner tranſported over into *England*, where he had audience of the King. But notwithſtanding he had a good *ominous* name to have made a Peace, nothing

nothing followed. For in the mean time, the purpoſe of the *French* King to marry the Ducheſs could be no longer diſſembled. Wherefore the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors (finding how things went) took their leave, and returned. And the *Prior* alſo was warned from hence, to depart out of *England*. Who when he turned his back (more like a Pedant, than an Ambaſſador) diſperſed a bitter *Libel*, in *Latin* Verſe, againſt the King; unto which the King (though he had nothing of a Pedant) yet was content to cauſe an anſwer to be made in like Verſe; and that as ſpeaking in his own perſon, but in a ſtile of ſcorn and ſport. About this time alſo was born the King's ſecond Son *Henry*, who afterward reigned. And ſoon after followed the ſolemnization of the Marriage between *Charles*, and *Ann* Ducheſs of *Britain*, with whom he received the Duchy of *Britain* as her Dowry; the Daughter of *Maximilian* being a little before ſent home. Which when it came to the ears of *Maximilian*, (who would never believe it till it was done, being ever the Principal in deceiving himſelf, though in this the *French* King did very handſomly ſecond it) and tumbling it over and over in his thoughts, that he ſhould at one blow (with ſuch a double ſcorn) be defeated, both of the Marriage of his Daughter, and his own (upon both which he had fixed high imaginations;) he loſt all patience, and caſting off the Reſpects fit to be continued between great Kings, (even when their blood is hotteſt, and moſt riſen) fell to bitter *Invectives* againſt the perſon and actions of the *French* King. And (by how much he was the leſs able to do, talking ſo much the more) ſpake all the Injuries he could deviſe of *Charles*, ſaying; That he was the moſt perfidious man upon the earth, and that he had made a Marriage compounded between an *Adultery* and a *Rape*: which was done (he ſaid) by the juſt judgment of God; to the end, that (the *Nullity* thereof being ſo apparent to all the World) the Race of ſo unworthy a perſon might not reign in *France*. And forthwith he ſent Ambaſſadors as well to the King of *England* as to the King of *Spain*, to incite them to War, and to treat a *League* offenſive againſt *France*, promiſing to concur with great Forces of his own. Hereupon the King of *England* (going nevertheleſs his own way) called a *Parliament*, it being the ſeventh year of his Reign, and the firſt day of opening thereof, (ſitting under his *Cloth* of *Eſtate*) ſpake himſelf unto his Lords and Commons, in this manner:

MY *Lords, and you the Commons; When I purpoſed to make a War in* Britain *by my Lieutenant, I made declaration thereof to you by my Chancellor. But now that I mean to make a War upon* France *in Perſon, I will declare it to you my Self. That War, was to defend another man's right, but this is to retrieve our own; and that ended by Accident, but we hope this ſhall end in Victory.*

The French *King troubles the Chriſtian World. That which he hath,*

hath, is not his own, and yet he ſeeketh more. He hath inveſted himſelf of Britain, *he maintaineth the Rebels in* Flanders, *and he threatneth* Italy. *For Our Selves, he hath proceeded from Diſſimulation to Neglect, and from Neglect to Contumely. He hath aſſailed our Confederates; he denieth our Tribute; in a word, he ſeeks War. So did not his Father, but ſought Peace at our hands; and ſo perhaps will he, when good Counſel or Time ſhall make him ſee as much as his Father did.*

Mean-while; let us make his Ambition, our Advantage; and let us not ſtand upon a few Crowns of Tribute, or Acknowledgement, but (by the favour of Almighty GOD) try Our Right for the Crown of France *it ſelf; remembring that there hath been a* French *King Priſoner in* England, *and a King of* England *Crowned in* France. *Our Confederates are not diminiſhed.* Burgundy *is in a mightier Hand than ever, and never more provoked;* Britain *cannot help us, but it may hurt them. New Acqueſts are more Burthen, than Strength. The Male-contents of his own Kingdom have not been Baſe, Popular, nor Titulary Impoſtors, but of an higher nature. The King of* Spain (*doubt ye not*) *will joyn with us, not knowing where the* French *King's Ambition will ſtay. Our Holy Father the* Pope, *likes no* Tramontanes *in* Italy. *But howſoever it be, this matter of Confederates, is rather to be thought on, than reckoned on. For God forbid, but* England *ſhould be able to get Reaſon of* France, *without a Second.*

At the Battels of Creſſy, Poictiers, Agent-Court, *we were of Our ſelves.* France *hath much People, and few Soldiers. They have no ſtable Bands of Foot: ſome good Horſe they have; but thoſe are Forces, which are leaſt fit for a Defenſive War, where the Actions are in the Aſſailant's choice. It was our Diſcords only, that loſt* France; *and (by the Power of GOD) it is the good Peace which we now enjoy, that will recover it. GOD hath hitherto bleſſed my Sword. I have in this time that I have Reigned, weeded out my bad Subjects, and tryed my good. My People and I know one another; which breeds Confidence. And if there ſhould be any bad Blood left in the Kingdom, an Honourable Forein War will vent it, or purifie it. In this great Buſineſs, let me have your Advice, and Ayd. If any of you were to make his Son Knight, you might have ayd of your Tenants by Law. This concerns the Knighthood and Spurs of the Kingdom, whereof I am Father; and bound not only to ſeek to maintain it, but to advance it. But for matter of Treaſure, let it not be taken from the Pooreſt ſort; but from thoſe, to whom the Benefit of the War may redound.* France *is no Wilderneſs: and I, that profeſs good husbandry, hope to make the War (after the Beginnings) to pay it ſelf. Go together in GOD's Name, and loſe no time; for I have called this* Parliament *wholly for this Cauſe.*

THus ſpake the King. But for all this, though he ſhewed great forwardneſs for a War, not only to his *Parliament* and *Court*, but to his *Privy Council* likewiſe, (except the two Biſhops, and a few more) yet nevertheleſs in his ſecret intentions, he had

no

no purpoſe to go through with any War, upon *France*. But the truth was, that he did but traffick with that War, to make his *Return* in money. He knew well, that *France* was now entire, and at unity with it ſelf, and never ſo mighty many years before. He ſaw by the taſt that he had of his Forces ſent into *Britain*, that the *French* knew well enough how to make War with the *Engliſh*; by not putting things to the hazard of a *Battel*, but wearing them by long Sieges of *Towns*, and ſtrong fortified Encampings. *James* the Third of *Scotland*, (his true Friend, and *Confederate*) gone; and *James* the Fourth (that had ſucceeded) wholly at the devotion of *France*, and ill affected towards him. As for the Conjunctions of *Ferdinando* of *Spain*, and *Maximilian*; he could make no foundation upon them: for the one had *Power*, and not *Will*; and the other had *Will*, and not *Power*. Beſides that, *Ferdinando* had but newly taken breath, from the War with the *Moors*; and merchanded at this time with *France*, for the reſtoring of the Counties of *Ruſſignon* and *Perpignian*, oppignorated to the *French*. Neither was he out of fear of the *Diſcontents*, and ill blood within the *Realm*; which having uſed always to repreſs and appeaſe in perſon, he was loth they ſhould find him at a diſtance beyond Sea, and engaged in War. Finding therefore the Inconveniences and Difficulties in the proſecution of a War, he caſt with himſelf how to compaſs two things: The one, how by the declaration, and inchoation of a War, to make his *Profit*; the other, how to come off from the War, with ſaving of his *Honour*. For *Profit*; it was to be made two ways; upon his Subjects for the *War*, and upon his Enemies for the *Peace*; like a good *Merchant*, that maketh his gain, both upon the Commodities *Exported*, and *Imported* back again. For the point of *Honour*, wherein he might ſuffer, for giving over the War; he conſidered well, that as he could not truſt upon the ayds of *Ferdinando* and *Maximilian* for ſupports of War: ſo the impuiſſance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay fair for him for occaſions to accept of *Peace*. Theſe things he did wiſely fore-ſee, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his lap, as he deſired.

For as for the *Parliament*, it preſently took fire, being affectionate (of old) to the War of *France*; and deſirous afreſh to repair the diſhonour, they thought the King ſuſtained by the loſs of *Britain*. Therefore they adviſed the King (with great alacrity) to undertake the War of *France*. And although the *Parliament* conſiſted of the *firſt* and *ſecond* Nobility, (together with principal Citizens and Townſmen) yet worthily and juſtly reſpecting more the People (whoſe Deputies they were) than their own private Perſons, and finding by the Lord *Chancellor*'s Speech the King's inclination that way; they conſented that *Commiſſioners* ſhould go forth, for the gathering and levying of a *Benevolence*, from the more able ſort. This Tax (called *Benevolence*) was deviſed by

Edward the Fourth, for which he ſuſtained much Envy. It was aboliſhed by *Richard* the Third, by Act of *Parliament*, to ingratiate himſelf with the people; and it was now revived by the King, but with conſent of *Parliament*, for ſo it was not in the time of King *Edward* the Fourth. But by this way he raiſed exceeding great ſumms. Inſomuch as the City of *London* (in thoſe days) contributed nine thouſand pounds and better, and that chiefly levied upon the wealthier ſort. There is a Tradition of a *Dilemma*, that Biſhop *Morton* the Chancellor uſed, to raiſe up the *Benevolence* to higher Rates; and ſome called it his *Fork*, and ſome his *Crotch*. For he had couched an *Article* in the Inſtructions to the *Commiſſioners*, who were to levy the *Benevolence*; *That if they met with any that were ſparing, they ſhould tell them, That they muſt needs have, becauſe they laid up; and if they were ſpenders, they muſt needs have, becauſe it was ſeen in their port, and manner of living.* So neither kind came amiſs.

This *Parliament* was meerly a *Parliament* of War; for it was in ſubſtance, but a Declaration of War againſt *France* and *Scotland*, with ſome Statutes conducing thereunto; As the ſevere puniſhing of *Mortpayes*, and keeping back of *Soldiers* Wages in Captains. The like ſeverity for the departure of *Soldiers* without licence; Strengthning of the *Common Law* in favour of *Protections*, for thoſe that were in the King's ſervice; And the ſetting the gate open and wide, for men to Sell or *Mortgage* their Lands without *Fines* for *Alienation*, to furniſh themſelves with Money for the War; And laſtly, the avoiding of all *Scottiſh-men* out of *England*. There was alſo a Statute, for the diſperſing of the *Standard* of the *Exchequer*, throughout *England*; thereby to ſize *Weights* and *Meaſures*; and two or three more of leſs importance.

After the *Parliament* was broken up (which laſted not long) the King went on with his Preparations for the War of *France*; yet neglected not in the mean time the affairs of *Maximilian*, for the quieting of *Flanders*, and reſtoring him to his Authority amongſt his Subjects. For at that time, the Lord of *Ravenſtein* being not only a Subject rebelled, but a Servant revolted, (and ſo much the more malicious and violent, by the ayd of *Bruges* and *Ghent*) had taken the Town, and both the Caſtles of *Sluyce*; as we ſaid before.

And having (by the commodity of the Haven) gotten together certain Ships and Barques, fell to a kind of *Pyratical* trade; robbing and ſpoyling, and taking Priſoners the Ships and Veſſels of all Nations, that paſſed alongſt that Coaſt, towards the Mart of *Antwerp*, or into any part of *Brabant*, *Zealand*, or *Frieſland*; being ever will victualled from *Picardy*, beſides the commodity of Victuals from *Sluyce*, and the Countrey adjacent, and the avails of his own *Prizes*. The *French* aſſiſted him ſtill under-hand; and he likewiſe (as all men do, that have been of both ſides) thought himſelf not ſafe, except he depended upon a third Perſon.

There

There was a ſmall Town ſome two miles from *Bruges*, towards the Sea, called *Dam*; which was a Fort and Approch to *Bruges*, and had a relation alſo to *Sluyce*. This Town the King of the *Romans* had attempted often, (not for any worth of the Town in it ſelf, but becauſe it might choak *Bruges*, and cut it off from the Sea) and ever failed. But therewith the Duke of *Saxony* came down into *Flanders*, taking upon him the perſon of an Umpire, to compoſe things between *Maximilian* and his Subjects; but being (indeed) faſt and aſſured to *Maximilian*. Upon this Pretext of *Neutrality* and *Treaty*, he repaired to *Bruges*; deſiring the States of *Bruges*, to enter peaceably into their Town, with a Retinue of ſome number of men of Arms, fit for his Eſtate, being ſomewhat the more (as he ſaid) the better to guard him in a Countrey, that was up in Arms: and bearing them in hand, that he was to communicate with them of divers matters of great importance, for their good. Which having obtained of them, he ſent his Carriages and *Harbingers* before him, to provide his Lodging. So that his *Men* of *War* entred the City in good Array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before, enquired ſtill for Inns and Lodgings, as if they would have reſted there all night, and ſo went on, till they came to the Gate, that leadeth directly towards *Dam*; and they of *Bruges* only gazed upon them, and gave them paſſage. The *Captains* and inhabitants of *Dam* alſo ſuſpected no harm, from any that paſſed through *Bruges*; and diſcovering Forces a-far-off, ſuppoſed they had been ſome *Succours*, that were come from their Friends, knowing ſome Dangers towards them. And ſo perceiving nothing but well, till it was too late, ſuffered them to enter their Town. By which kind of *Sleight*, rather than *Stratagem*, the Town of *Dam* was taken, and the Town of *Bruges* ſhrewdly blockt up, whereby they took great diſcouragement.

The Duke of *Saxony* having won the Town of *Dam*, ſent immediately to the King, to let him know that it was *Sluyce* chiefly, and the Lord *Ravenſtein*, that kept the Rebellion of *Flanders* in life; And that if it pleaſed the King to beſiege it by Sea, he alſo would beſiege it by Land, and ſo cut out the *Core* of thoſe Wars.

The King willing to uphold the Authority of *Maximilian*, (the better to hold *France* in awe) and being likewiſe ſued unto by his *Merchants*, for that the Seas were much infeſted by the Barques of the Lord *Ravenſtein*; ſent ſtraightways Sir *Edward Poynings*, a valiant man, and of good ſervice, with twelve Ships, well furniſhed with Soldiers and Artillery, to clear the Seas, and to beſiege *Sluyce* on that part. The *Engliſhmen* did not only coop up the Lord *Ravenſtein*, that he ſtirred not, and likewiſe hold in ſtrait Siege the Maritim part of the Town; but alſo aſſailed one of the Caſtles, and renewed the aſſault ſo for twenty days ſpace (iſſuing ſtill out of their Ships at the Ebb) as they made great

ſlaughter of them of the Caſtle; who continually fought with them to repulſe them, though of the *Engliſh* part alſo were ſlain a Brother of the Earl of *Oxford*'s, and ſome fifty more.

But the Siege ſtill continuing more and more ſtrait, and both the Caſtles (which were the principal ſtrength of the Town) being diſtreſſed, the one by the Duke of *Saxony*, and the other by the *Engliſh*; and a Bridge of boats, which the Lord *Ravenſtein* had made between both Caſtles, whereby Succours and Relief might paſs from the one to the other, being on a night ſet on fire by the *Engliſh*, he deſpairing to hold the Town, yielded (at the laſt) the Caſtle to the *Engliſh*, and the Town to the Duke of *Saxony*, by compoſition. Which done, the Duke of *Saxony* and Sir *Edward Poynings* treated with them of *Bruges*, to ſubmit themſelves to *Maximilian* their Lord; which after ſome time they did, paying (in ſome good part) the Charge of the War, whereby the *Almains* and forein Succours were diſmiſſed. The example of *Bruges*, other of the Revolted Towns followed, ſo that *Maximilian* grew to be out of danger, but (as his manner was to handle matters) never out of neceſſity. And Sir *Edward Poynings* (after he had continued at *Sluyce* ſome good while, till all things were ſetled) returned unto the King, being then before *Bulloign*.

Somewhat about this time came Letters from *Ferdinando*, and *Iſabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*; ſignifying the final Conqueſt of *Granada* from the *Moors*; which action in it ſelf ſo worthy, King *Ferdinando*, (whoſe manner was never to loſe any virtue for the ſhewing) had expreſſed and diſplayed in his Letters at large, with all the particularities, and Religious *Puncto's* and *Ceremonies*, that were obſerved in the reception of that *City* and *Kingdom*: Shewing amongſt other things, That the King would not by any means in perſon enter the City, until he had firſt aloof ſeen the *Croſs* ſet up upon the greater Tower of *Granada*, whereby it became *Chriſtian* ground: That likewiſe before he would enter, he did *Homage* to God above, pronouncing by an *Herald* from the height of that Tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that *Kingdom*, by the help of God Almighty and the glorious *Virgin*, and the virtuous Apoſtle St. *James*, and the holy Father *Innocent* the Eighth, together with the ayds and ſervices of his *Prelates*, *Nobles* and *Commons*: That yet he ſtirred not from his *Camp*, till he had ſeen a little Army of *Martyrs*, to the number of ſeven hundred and more *Chriſtians* (that had lived in bonds and ſervitude, as Slaves to the *Moors*) paſs before his Eyes, ſinging a *Pſalm* for their redemption, and that he had given *Tribute* unto God by alms, and relief, extended to them all, for his admiſſion into the City. Theſe things were in the Letters, with many more Ceremonies of a kind of *Holy Oſtentation*.

The King ever willing to put himſelf into the conſort or Choir of all *Religious* actions, and naturally affecting much the King of *Spain*,

(as

(as far as one King can affect another) partly for his virtues, and partly for a counterpoiſe to *France*; upon the receipt of theſe Letters, ſent all his *Nobles* and *Prelates*, that were about the *Court*, together with the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* of *London*, in great ſolemnity to the Church of St. *Pauls*; there to hear a Declaration from the Lord *Chancellor*, now *Cardinal*. When they were aſſembled, the *Cardinal* (ſtanding upon the uppermoſt ſtep, or half-pace before the *Choir*; and all the *Nobles*, *Prelates*, and *Governours* of the City at the foot of the ſtairs) made a Speech to them; letting them know, that they were aſſembled in that Conſecrate place, to ſing unto God a *New-ſong*; For that (ſaid he) theſe many years the *Chriſtians* have not gained new ground or Territory upon the *Infidels*, nor enlarged and ſet further the Bounds of the *Chriſtian-world*: But this is now done, by the proweſs and devotion of *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, Kings of *Spain*; who have (to their immortal Honour) recovered the great and rich Kingdom of *Granada*, and the populous and mighty City of the ſame name, from the *Moors*, having been in poſſeſſion thereof by the ſpace of ſeven hundred years and more. For which, this Aſſembly and all *Chriſtians* are to render laud and thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble Act of the King of *Spain*; who in this is not only *Victorious*, but *Apoſtolical*, in the gaining of new Provinces to the *Chriſtian* Faith. And the rather, for that this victory and Conqueſt is obtained, without much effuſion of blood. Whereby it is to be hoped, that there ſhall be gained, not only new Territory, but infinite Souls, to the Church of *Chriſt*; whom the *Almighty* (as it ſeems) would have live to be converted. Herewithal he did relate ſome of the moſt memorable particulars of the War and Victory. And after his Speech ended, the whole aſſembly went ſolemnly in *Proceſſion*, and *Te Deum* was ſung.

Immediately after the Solemnity, the King kept his *May-day* at his Palace of *Shein*, now *Richmond*. Where to warm the blood of his *Nobility*, and *Gallants*, againſt the War, he kept great Triumphs of *Juſting* and *Tourney*, during all that Month. In which ſpace it ſo fell out, that Sir *James Parker*, and *Hugh Vaughan*, (one of the King's Gentlemen-Uſhers) having had a controverſie touching certain Arms, that the *King at Arms* had given *Vaughan*, were appointed to run ſome Courſes one againſt another. And by accident of a faulty Helmet, that *Parker* had on, he was ſtricken into the mouth at the firſt Courſe, ſo that his tongue was born unto the hinder part of his head, in ſuch ſort that he died preſently upon the place. Which becauſe of the Controverſie precedent, and the Death that followed, was accounted among the *Vulgar*, as a *Combat* or *Tryal* of Right. The King, towards the end of this Summer, having put his Forces, wherewith he meant to invade *France*, in readineſs, (but ſo as they were not yet met or muſtered together) ſent *Urſwick* (now made his *Almoner*) and Sir

John

John Riſley, to *Maximilian*; to let him know, that he was in Arms, ready to paſs the Seas into *France*, and did but expect to hear from him, when and where he did appoint to joyn with him, according to his promiſe made unto him by *Countebal*, his Ambaſſador.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, having repaired to *Maximilian*, did find his power and promiſe at a very great diſtance; he being utterly unprovided of *Men*, *Money*, and *Arms*, for any ſuch enterprize. For *Maximilian*, having neither Wing to flie on (for that his Patrimony of *Auſtria* was not in his hands, his Father being then living: And on the other ſide, his *Matrimonial* Territories of *Flanders* being partly in Dowre to his *Mother-in-law*, and partly not ſerviceable, in reſpect of the late *Rebellions*) was thereby deſtitute of means to enter into War. The Ambaſſadors ſaw this well, but wiſely thought fit to advertiſe the King thereof, rather than to return themſelves, till the King's further pleaſure were known: The rather, for that *Maximilian* himſelf ſpake as great, as ever he did before, and entertained them with dilatory Anſwers; ſo as the formal part of their Ambaſſage might well warrant and require their further ſtay. The King hereupon (who doubted as much before, and ſaw through his buſineſs from the beginning) wrote back to the Ambaſſadors, commending their diſcretion in not returning, and willing them to keep the ſtate wherein they found *Maximilian*, as a Secret, till they heard further from him; And mean while went on with his Voyage Royal for *France*, ſuppreſſing for a time this Advertiſement touching *Maximilian*'s poverty and diſability.

By this time, was drawn together a great and puiſſant Army into the City of *London*; in which were *Thomas* Marqueſs *Dorſet*, *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, *Thomas* Earl of *Derby*, *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Edmond* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Edward* Earl of *Devonſhire*, *George* Earl of *Kent*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, with a great number of Barons, Knights, and principal Gentlemen; and amongſt them, *Richard Thomas*, much noted for the brave Troops that he brought out of *Wales*; the Army riſing in the whole to the number of five and twenty thouſand *Foot*, and ſixteen hundred *Horſe*. Over which, the King (conſtant in his accuſtomed truſt and employment) made *Jaſper* Duke of *Bedford*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford* Generals under his own perſon. The ninth of *September*, in the eighth year of his Reign, he departed from *Greenwich*, towards the Sea, all men wondering, that he took that ſeaſon (being ſo near Winter) to begin the War; and ſome thereupon gathering it was a ſign that the War would not be long. Nevertheleſs, the King gave out the contrary, thus: *That he intending not to make a Summer-buſineſs of it, but a reſolute War (without term prefixed) until he recovered* France; *it skilled not much when he began it: eſpecially having* Calice *at his back; where he might winter, if the reaſon*

of

of the War ſo required. The ſixth of *October*, he embarqued at *Sandwich*; and the ſame day took land at *Calice*: which was the *Rendezvouz*, where all his Forces were aſſigned to meet. But in this his Journey towards the Sea-ſide (wherein, for the cauſe that we ſhall now ſpeak of, he hovered ſo much the longer) he had received Letters from the Lord *Cordes*: who the hotter he was againſt the *Engliſh* in time of *War*, had the more credit in a Negotiation of *Peace*; and beſides was held a man open, and of good faith. In which Letters there was made an overture of Peace from the *French* King, with ſuch Conditions, as were ſomewhat to the King's taſt: but this was carried at the firſt with wonderful ſecrecy. The King was no ſooner come to *Calice*, but the calm winds of Peace began to blow. For firſt, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors returned out of *Flanders* from *Maximilian*; and certified the King, that he was not to hope for any ayd from *Maximilian*, for that he was altogether improvided. His will was good; but he lacked money. And this was made known, and ſpread through the Army. And although the *Engliſh* were therewithal nothing diſmayed; and that it be the manner of Soldiers, upon bad news to ſpeak the more bravely: yet nevertheleſs it was a kind of preparative to a Peace. Inſtantly in the neck of this (as the King had laid it) came news that *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, Kings of *Spain*, had concluded a peace with King *Charles*; and that *Charles* had reſtored unto them the Counties of *Ruſſignon* and *Perpignian*, which formerly were Mortgaged by *John* King of *Arragon* (*Ferdinando*'s Father) unto *France*, for three hundred thouſand Crowns; which debt was alſo, upon this Peace, by *Charles* clearly releaſed. This came alſo handſomly to put on the Peace: both becauſe ſo potent a *Confederate* was faln off, and becauſe it was a fair example of a Peace bought; ſo as the King ſhould not be the ſole Merchant in this Peace. Upon theſe *Airs* of *Peace*, the King was content, that the Biſhop of *Exceter*, and the Lord *Daubigny* (Governour of *Calice*) ſhould give a meeting unto the Lord *Cordes*, for the Treaty of a Peace. But himſelf nevertheleſs, and his Army, the fifteenth of *October*, removed from *Calice*, and in four days march ſate him down before *Bulloign*.

During this Siege of *Bulloign* (which continued near a Month) there paſſed no memorable Action, nor Accident of War: only Sir *John Savage*, a valiant Captain, was ſlain, riding about the Walls of the Town, to take a View. The Town was both well fortified, and well manned; yet it was diſtreſſed, and ready for an Aſſault: which if it had been given (as was thought) would have coſt much blood; but yet the Town would have been carried in the end. Mean while, a Peace was concluded by the Commiſſioners, to continue for both the Kings Lives. Where there was no Article of importance; being in effect, rather a Bargain, than a Treaty. For, all things remained as they were: ſave that there

there ſhould be paid to the King ſeven hundred forty five thouſand Ducats in preſent, for his Charges in that Journey; and five and twenty thouſand Crowns yearly, for his Charges ſuſtained in the Ayds of the *Britons*. For which *Annual*, though he had *Maximilian* bound before for thoſe Charges; yet he counted the alteration of the Hand, as much as the principal Debt. And beſides, it was left ſomewhat indefinitely; when it ſhould determine or expire: which made the *Engliſh* eſteem it as a *Tribute*, carried under fair Terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the King, and to his Son King *Henry* the Eighth, longer than it could continue upon any computation of Charges. There were alſo aſſigned by the *French* King, unto all the King's principal *Counſellors*, great Penſions, beſides rich Gifts for the preſent. Which whether the King did permit, to ſave his own Purſe from Rewards, or to communicate the Envy of a Buſineſs, that was diſpleaſing to his People, was diverſly interpreted; for certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace. And therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had under-hand procured ſome of his beſt *Captains*, and *Men of War*, to adviſe him to a Peace under their hands, in an earneſt manner, in the nature of a *Supplication*. But, the truth is, this Peace was welcom to both Kings. To *Charles*, for that it aſſured unto him the poſſeſſion of *Britain*, and freed the enterpriſe of *Naples*. To *Henry*, for that it filled his Coffers; and that he foreſaw at that time a ſtorm of inward troubles coming upon him; which preſently after brake forth. But it gave no leſs diſcontent to the *Nobility*, and principal perſons of the *Army*; who had many of them ſold or engaged their Eſtates, upon the hopes of the War. They ſtuck not to ſay, *That the King cared not to plume his Nobility and People, to feather himſelf.* And ſome made themſelves merry with that the King had ſaid in Parliament: *That after the War was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay it ſelf*; ſaying he had kept promiſe.

Having riſen from *Bulloign*, he went to *Calice*, where he ſtayed ſome time. From whence alſo he wrote Letters, (which was a Courteſie that he ſometimes uſed) to the *Mayor* of *London*, and *Aldermen* his Brethren; half bragging, what great ſumms he had obtained for the Peace; knowing well, that full *Coffers* of the King, is ever good news to *London*. And better news it would have been, if their *Benevolence* had been but a *Loan*. And upon the ſeventeenth of *December* following, he returned to *Weſtminſter*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas*.

Soon after the King's return, he ſent the Order of the *Garter*, to *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria*, eldeſt Son to *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*; an honour ſought by that *Prince*, to hold him up in the eyes of the *Italians*: who, expecting the Arms of *Charles*, made great account of the Amity of *England*, for a Bridle to *France*. It was received by *Alphonſo*, with all Ceremony and Pomp that could be

be deviſed; as things uſe to be carried that are intended for Opinion. It was ſent by *Urſwick*: upon whom the King beſtowed this Ambaſſage, to help him, after many dry Employments.

AT this time the King began again to be haunted with *Spirits*, by the *Magick* and curious Arts of the Lady *Margaret*: who raiſed up the Ghoſt of *Richard* Duke of *York*, ſecond Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, to walk and vex the King. This was a finer *Counterfeit Stone*, than *Lambert Simnel*, better done, and worn upon greater hands; being graced after, with the wearing of a King of *France*, and a King of *Scotland*, not of a Ducheſs of *Burgundy* only. And for *Simnel*, there was not much in him, more than that he was a handſom Boy, and did not ſhame his Robes. But this Youth (of whom we are now to ſpeak) was ſuch a *Mercurial*, as the like hath ſeldom been known, and could make his own Part, if at any time he chanced to be out. Wherefore, this being one of the ſtrangeſt Examples of a *Perſonation*, that ever was in *Elder* or *Latter* times; it deſerveth to be diſcovered, and related at the full: Although the King's manner of ſhewing things, by Pieces and by *Dark Lights*, hath ſo muffled it, that it hath left it almoſt as a *Myſtery* to this day.

The Lady *Margaret* (whom the King's Friends called *Juno*, becauſe ſhe was to him as *Juno* was to *Æneas*, ſtirring both Heaven and Hell, to do him miſchief) for a foundation of her particular Practices againſt him, did continually, by all means poſſible, nouriſh, maintain, and divulge the flying Opinion, That *Richard* Duke of *York* (ſecond Son to *Edward* the Fourth) was not murthered in the *Tower*, (as was given out) but ſaved alive; For that thoſe, who were employed in that barbarous Fact, having deſtroyed the elder Brother, were ſtricken with remorſe and compaſſion towards the younger, and ſet him privily at liberty, to ſeek his Fortune. This Lure ſhe caſt abroad, thinking that this Fame and Belief (together with the freſh Example of *Lambert Simnel*) would draw at one time, or other, ſome *Birds* to ſtrike upon it. She uſed likewiſe a further diligence, not committing all to *Chance*. For, ſhe had ſome ſecret *Eſpials* (like to the *Turks Commiſſioners* for Children of *Tribute*) to look abroad for handſom and graceful Youths to make *Plantagenets*, and Dukes of *York*. At the laſt ſhe did light on one, in whom all things met, as one would wiſh to ſerve her turn, for a Counterfeit of *Richard* Duke of *York*.

This was *Perkin Warbeck*, whoſe Adventures we ſhall now deſcribe. For, firſt, the years agreed well. Secondly, he was a Youth of fine favour and ſhape. But more than that, he had ſuch a crafty and bewitching faſhion, both to move *Pity*, and to induce *Belief*, as was like a kind of *Faſcination*, and *Inchantment* to thoſe that ſaw him, or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his Childhood ſuch a *Wanderer*, or (as the King called him) ſuch a *Land-loper*,

as it was extreme hard to hunt out his *Neſt* and *Parents*. Neither again could any man, by company or converſing with him, be able to ſay or detect well what he was; he did ſo flit from place to place. Laſtly, there was a *Circumſtance* (which is mentioned by one that wrote in the ſame time) that is very likely to have made ſomewhat to the matter; which is, That King *Edward* the Fourth was his God-father. Which, as it is ſomewhat ſuſpicious, for a wanton *Prince* to become Goſſip in ſo mean a Houſe; and might make a man think, that he might indeed have in him ſome baſe Blood of the Houſe of *York*: ſo at the leaſt (though that were not) it might give the occaſion to the Boy, in being called King *Edward*'s God-ſon, or perhaps in ſport, King *Edward*'s Son, to entertain ſuch Thoughts into his Head. For, Tutor he had none, (for ought that appears) as *Lambert Simnel* had, until he came unto the Lady *Margaret*, who inſtructed him.

Thus therefore it came to paſs: There was a Towns-man of *Tourney*, that had born Office in that Town, whoſe name was *John Osbeck*, a Convert-*Jew*, married to *Catherine de Faro*; whoſe buſineſs drew him, to live for a time with his Wife at *London*, in King *Edward* the Fourth's days. During which time he had a Son by her: and being known in Court, the King either out of a religious Nobleneſs, becauſe he was a *Convert*, or upon ſome private acquaintance, did him the Honor, as to be God-father to his Child, and named him *Peter*. But, afterwards, proving a dainty and effeminate Youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name; *Peterkin*, or *Perkin*. For, as for the name of *Warbeck*, it was given him when they did but gueſs at it, before examinations had been taken. But yet he had been ſo much talked on by that name, as it ſtuck by him after his true name of *Osbeck* was known. While he was a young Child his Parents returned with him to *Tourney*. Then was he placed in a houſe of a kinſman of his, called *John Stenbeck*, at *Antwerp*: and ſo roved up and down between *Antwerp* and *Tourney*, and other Towns of *Flanders*, for a good time; living much in *Engliſh* Company, and having the *Engliſh* Tongue perfect. In which time, being grown a comely Youth, he was brought by ſome of the Eſpials of the Lady *Margaret* unto her Preſence. Who viewing him well, and ſeeing that he had a Face and Perſonage that would bear a Noble fortune, and finding him otherwiſe of a fine Spirit, and winning Behaviour; thought ſhe had now found a curious *Piece* of *Marble*, to carve out an *Image* of a Duke of *York*. She kept him by her a great while, but with extreme ſecrecy. The while, ſhe inſtructed him, by many *Cabinet-Conferences*. Firſt, in *Princely* behaviour and geſture; teaching him how he ſhould keep *State*, and yet with a modeſt ſenſe of his misfortunes. Then ſhe informed him of all the circumſtances and particulars, that concerned the Perſon of *Richard* Duke of *York*, which he was to act:

Deſcribing

Deſcribing unto him the *Perſonages*, *Lineaments*, and *Features* of the King and Queen, his pretended Parents; and of his Brother and Siſters, and divers others, that were neareſt him in his Childhood; together with all paſſages, ſome ſecret, ſome common, that were fit for a Child's memory, until the death of King *Edward*. Then ſhe added the particulars of the time, from the King's death, until he and his Brother were committed to the *Tower*, as well during the time he was abroad, as while he was in *Sanctuary*. As for the times while he was in the *Tower*, and the manner of his Brother's death; and his own eſcape; ſhe knew they were things that a very few could controle. And therefore ſhe taught him, only to tell a ſmooth and likely *Tale* of thoſe matters; warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewiſe between them, what account he ſhould give of his *Peregrination* abroad; intermixing many things which were true, and ſuch as they knew others could teſtifie, for the credit of the reſt: but, ſtill making them to hang together, with the *Part* he was to play. She taught him likewiſe how to avoid ſundry captious and tempting queſtions which were like to be asked of him. But, in this ſhe found him of himſelf ſo nimble and ſhifting, as ſhe truſted much to his own wit and readineſs; and therefore laboured the leſs in it. Laſtly, ſhe raiſed his thoughts with ſome preſent rewards, and further promiſes; ſetting before him chiefly the glory, and fortune of a Crown, if things went well; and a ſure refuge to her *Court*, if the worſt ſhould fall. After ſuch time as ſhe thought he was perfect in his *Leſſon*, ſhe began to caſt with her ſelf from what coaſt this *Blazing-ſtar* ſhould firſt appear, and at what time it muſt be upon the Horizon of *Ireland*; for there had the like *Meteor* ſtrong influence before: the time of the *Apparition* to be, when the King ſhould be engaged into a War with *France*. But well ſhe knew, that whatſoever ſhould come from her, would be held ſuſpected. And therefore; if he ſhould go out of *Flanders* immediately into *Ireland*, ſhe might be thought to have ſome hand in it. And beſides, the time was not yet ripe; for that the two Kings were then upon terms of *Peace*. Therefore ſhe wheel'd about; and to put all ſuſpition a-far-off, and loth to keep him any longer by her, (for that ſhe knew *Secrets* are not long-lived) ſhe ſent him unknown into *Portugal*, with the Lady *Brampton*, an *Engliſh* Lady, that embarqued for *Portugal* at that time; with ſome *Privado* of her own, to have an eye upon him: and there he was to remain and to expect her further directions. In the mean time, ſhe omitted not to prepare things for his better welcome, and accepting, not only in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, but in the Court of *France*. He continued in *Portugal* about a year; and, by that time, the King of *England* called his *Parliament* (as hath been ſaid) and declared open War againſt *France*. Now did the Sign reign, and the Conſtellation was come, under which *Perkin* ſhould appear.

And therefore he was ſtraight ſent unto by the Ducheſs, to go for *Ireland*, according to the firſt deſignment. In *Ireland* he did arrive at the Town of *Cork*. When he was thither come, his own *Tale* was, (when he made his *Confeſſion* afterwards) That the *Iriſh-men*, finding him in ſome good clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him down, that he was the Duke of *Clarence*, that had been there before; and after, that he was *Richard* the Third's baſe Son; and laſtly, that he was *Richard* Duke of *York*, ſecond Son to *Edward* the Fourth: But that he (for his part) renounced all theſe things, and offered to ſwear upon the Holy *Evangeliſts*, that he was no ſuch man; till, at laſt, they forced it upon him, and bad him fear nothing, and ſo forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into *Ireland*, he took upon him the ſaid *Perſon* of the Duke of *York*, and drew unto him *Complices*, and *Partakers*, by all the means he could deviſe: Inſomuch, as he wrote his Letters unto the Earl of *Dewſmond* and *Kildare*, to come in to his *Ayd*, and be of his *Party*: the *Originals* of which Letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the Ducheſs had alſo gained unto her a near Servant of King *Henry*'s own, one *Stephen Frion*, his *Secretary* for the *French* Tongue; an active man, but turbulent, and diſcontented. This *Frion* had fled over to *Charles* the *French* King, and put himſelf into his ſervice, at ſuch time as he began to be in open enmity with the King. Now King *Charles*, when he underſtood of the Perſon and Attempts of *Perkin* (ready of himſelf to embrace all advantages againſt the King of *England*; inſtigated by *Frion*, and formerly prepared by the Lady *Margaret*,) forthwith diſpatched one *Lucas*, and this *Frion*, in the nature of of Ambaſſadors to *Perkin*, to advertiſe him of the King's good inclination to him, and that he was reſolved to ayd him, to recover his right againſt King *Henry*, an Uſurper of *England*, and an Enemy of *France*; and wiſhed him, to come over unto him at *Paris*. *Perkin* thought himſelf in heaven now, that he was invited by ſo great a King, in ſo honourable a manner; And imparting unto his Friends in *Ireland* for their encouragement, how Fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, ſailed preſently into *France*. When he was come to the Court of *France*, the King received him with great honour, ſaluted, and ſtiled him by the name of the Duke of *York*; lodged him, and accommodated him in great State: And the better to give him the repreſentation and the countenance of a *Prince*, aſſigned him a *Guard* for his Perſon, whereof the Lord *Congreſhall* was Captain. The *Courtiers* likewiſe (though it be ill mocking with the *French*) applied themſelves to their King's bent, ſeeing there was reaſon of *State* for it. At the ſame time there repaired unto *Perkin* divers *Engliſh-men* of Quality; Sir *George Nevile*, Sir *John Taylor*, and about one hundred more: and amongſt the reſt, this *Stephen Frion*, of whom we ſpake;

who

who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principal *Counſellor* and *Inſtrument* in all his Proceedings. But all this, on the *French* King's part, was but a Trick, the better to bow King *Henry* to Peace. And therefore upon the firſt Grain of *Incenſe*, that was ſacrificed upon the *Altar* of *Peace*, at *Bulloign*, *Perkin* was ſmoaked away. Yet would not the *French* King deliver him up to King *Henry* (as he was laboured to do) for his Honors ſake, but warned him away, and diſmiſſed him. And *Perkin* on his part, was as ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up under-hand. He therefore took his way into *Flanders*, unto the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*; pretending, that having been variouſly toſſed by *Fortune*, he directed his courſe thither, as to a ſafe *Harbour*: No ways taking knowledge, that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his firſt addreſs. The Ducheſs, on the other part, made it as new and ſtrange to ſee him: pretending (at the firſt) that ſhe was taught and made wiſe by the example of *Lambert Simnel*, how ſhe did admit of any *Counterfeit Huff*; though even in that (ſhe ſaid) ſhe was not fully ſatisfied. She pretended at the firſt (and that was ever in the preſence of others) to poſe him and ſift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very Duke of *York*, or no. But, ſeeming to receive full ſatisfaction by his anſwers, ſhe then feined her ſelf to be tranſported with a kind of aſtoniſhment, mixt of *Joy* and *Wonder*, at his miraculous deliverance; receiving him, as he were riſen from death to life; and inferring, that God, who had in ſuch wonderful manner preſerved him from Death, did likewiſe reſerve him for ſome great and proſperous *Fortune*. As for his diſmiſſion out of *France*, they interpreted it not, as if he were detected or neglected for a *Counterfeit Deceiver*; but contrariwiſe, that it did ſhew manifeſtly unto the World, that he was ſome *Great matter*; for that it was his abandoning, that (in effect) made the *Peace*: being no more but the ſacrificing of a poor diſtreſſed *Prince* unto the utility and Ambition of two Mighty *Monarchs*. Neither was *Perkin* for his part wanting to himſelf, either in gracious and Princely behaviour, or in ready and appoſite anſwers, or in contenting and careſſing thoſe that did apply themſelves unto him, or in pretty ſcorn and diſdain to thoſe that ſeemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himſelf: Inſomuch as it was generally believed (as well amongſt great Perſons, as amongſt the *Vulgar*) that he was indeed Duke *Richard*. Nay, himſelf, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a *Lye*, was turned by habit almoſt into the thing he ſeemed to be; and from a *Lyar*, to a *Believer*. The Ducheſs therefore (as in a caſe out of doubt) did him all Princely honour, calling him always by the name of her *Nephew*, and giving him the *Delicate Title* of the *White-Roſe of England*; and appointed him a *Guard* of thirty perſons, *Halberdiers*, clad in a party-coloured *Livery* of

of *Murrey* and *Blew*, to attend his Perſon. Her *Court* likewiſe, and generally the *Dutch* and Strangers in their uſage towards him, expreſſed no leſs reſpect.

The News hereof came blazing and thundering over into *England*, that the Duke of *York* was ſure alive. As for the name of *Perkin Warbeck*, it was not at that time come to light, but all the news ran upon the Duke of *York*; that he had been entertained in *Ireland*, bought and ſold in *France*, and was now plainly avowed, and in great honour in *Flanders*. Theſe *Fames* took hold of divers; in ſome upon diſcontent, in ſome upon ambition, in ſome upon levity and deſire of change, and in ſome few upon conſcience and belief, but in moſt upon ſimplicity; and in divers out of dependance upon ſome of the better ſort, who did in ſecret favour and nouriſh theſe bruits. And it was not long, ere theſe rumors of *Novelty*, had begotten others of *Scandal* and *Murmur* againſt the King, and his government; taxing him for a great Taxer of his *People*, and diſcountenancer of his *Nobility*. The loſs of *Britain*, and the Peace with *France* were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his *Queen*, in that he did not reign in her *Right*. Wherefore they ſaid, that God had now brought to light a *Maſculine-Branch* of the Houſe of *York*, that would not be at his Courteſie, howſoever he did depreſs his poor *Lady*. And yet (as it fareth in things which are currant with the *Multitude*, and which they affect) theſe Fames grew ſo general, as the Authors were loſt in the generality of *Speakers*. They being like running *Weeds*, that have no certain root; or like *Fautings* up and down, impoſſible to be traced. But after a while, theſe ill *Humors* drew to an head, and ſetled ſecretly in ſome eminent Perſons; which were Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold, the Lord *Fitz-water*, Sir *Simon Mountfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*. Theſe entred into a ſecret Conſpiracy to favour Duke *Richard*'s Title. Nevertheleſs none engaged their fortunes in this buſineſs openly, but two; Sir *Robert Clifford*, and Maſter *William Barley*, who ſailed over into *Flanders*, ſent indeed from the Party of the Conſpirators here, to underſtand the truth of thoſe things that paſſed there, and not without ſome help of monies from hence; Proviſionally to be delivered, if they found and were ſatisfied, that there was truth in theſe pretences. The perſon of Sir *Robert Clifford* (being a Gentleman of *Fame* and *Family*) was extremely welcom to the Lady *Margaret*. Who after ſhe had confeernce with him, brought him to the ſight of *Perkin*, with whom he had often ſpeech and diſcourſe. So that in the end won either by the Duchels, to affect, or by *Perkin* to believe, he wrote back into *England*, that he knew the Perſon of *Richard* Duke of *York*, as well as he knew his own, and that this *Young-man* was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to Revolt and Sedition here, and the *Conſpiracy* came to have a *Correſpondence* between *Flanders* and *England*.

The

The King on his part was not aſleep; but to Arm or levy *Forces* yet, he thought would but ſhew fear, and do this *Idol* too much worſhip. Nevertheleſs the *Ports* he did ſhut up, or at leaſt kept a *Watch* on them, that none ſhould paſs to or fro that was ſuſpected. But for the reſt, he choſe to work by *Counter-mine*. His purpoſes were two; the one, to lay open the Abuſe: the other, to break the knot of the *Conſpirators*. To detect the *Abuſe*, there were but two ways; the firſt, to make it manifeſt to the world, that the Duke of *York* was indeed murthered: the other, to prove, that were he dead or alive, yet *Perkin* was a Counterfeit. For the firſt, thus it ſtood. There were but four perſons that could ſpeak upon knowledge, to the murther of the Duke of *York*; Sir *James Tirrel*, (the employed-man from King *Richard*) *John Dighton*, and *Miles Forreſt*, his Servants, (the two Butchers or Tormentors) and the *Prieſt* of the *Tower*, that buried them. Of which four, *Miles Forreſt*, and the *Prieſt* were dead, and there remained alive only Sir *James Tirrel*, and *John Dighton*. Theſe two the King cauſed to be committed to the *Tower*, and examined touching the manner of the Death of the two Innocent *Princes*. They agreed both in a Tale, (as the King gave out) to this effect: That King *Richard* having directed his Warrant for the putting of them to death, to *Brackenbury* the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, was by him refuſed. Whereupon the King directed his Warrant to Sir *James Tirrel*, to receive the Keys of the *Tower* from the Lieutenant (for the ſpace of a night) for the King's ſpecial ſervice. That Sir *James Tirrel* accordingly repaired to the *Tower* by night, attended by his two Servants afore-named, whom he had choſen for that purpoſe. That himſelf ſtood at the ſtair-foot, and ſent theſe two *Villains* to execute the murther. That they ſmothered them in their bed; and that done, called up their Maſter to ſee their naked dead bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the *Stairs*, and ſome ſtones caſt upon them. That when the report was made to King *Richard*, that his will was done, he gave Sir *James Tirrel* great thanks, but took exception to the place of their burial, being too baſe for them that were King's children. Where upon another night by the King's Warrant renewed, their bodies were removed by the *Prieſt* of the *Tower*, and buried by him in ſome place, which (by means of the *Prieſt*'s death ſoon after) could not be known. Thus much was then delivered abroad, to be the effect of thoſe *Examinations*. But the King nevertheleſs made no uſe of them in any of his *Declarations*; whereby (as it ſeems) thoſe *Examinations* left the buſineſs ſomewhat perplexed. And as for Sir *James Tirrel*, he was ſoon after beheaded in the *Tower-yard*, for other matters of *Treaſon*. But *John Dighton* (who it ſeemeth ſpake beſt for the King) was forthwith ſet at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this Tradition. Therefore this kind of proof being left ſo naked, the King uſed the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing

tracing of *Perkin*. To this purpoſe, he ſent abroad into ſeveral parts, and eſpecially into *Flanders*, divers ſecret and nimble Scouts and Spies; ſome feigning themſelves to flie over unto *Perkin*, and to adhere unto him; and ſome under other pretences, to learn, ſearch, and diſcover all the circumſtances and particulars of *Perkin*'s Parents, Birth, Perſon, Travels up and down; and in brief, to have a *Journal* (as it were) of his life and doings. He furniſhed theſe his employed-men liberally with Money, to draw on and reward intelligences: giving them alſo in charge, to advertiſe continually what they found, and nevertheleſs ſtill to go on. And ever as one Advertiſement and Diſcovery called up another, he employed other new Men, where the Buſineſs did require it. Others he employed in a more ſpecial nature and truſt, to be his Pioners in the main Counter-mine. Theſe were directed to inſinuate themſelves into the familiarity and confidence of the principal perſons of the *Party* in *Flanders*, and ſo to learn what *Aſſociates* they had, and *Correſpondents*, either here in *England*, or abroad; and how far every one engaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try, or board. And as this for the *Perſons*; ſo for the *Actions* themſelves, to diſcover to the Bottom (as they could) the utmoſt of *Perkin*'s and the *Conſpirators* their Intentions, Hopes, and Practices. Theſe latter *Beſt-be-truſt-Spies* had ſome of them further inſtructions, to practiſe and draw off the beſt Friends and Servants of *Perkin*, by making remonſtrance to them, how weakly his Enterprize and Hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a King they had to deal; and to reconcile them to the King, with promiſe of *Pardon*, and good Conditions of *Reward*. And (above the reſt) to aſſail, ſap, and work into the conſtancy of Sir *Robert Clifford*; and to win him, (if they could) being the man that knew moſt of their ſecrets, and who being won away, would moſt appall and diſcourage the reſt, and in a manner break the Knot.

There is a ſtrange *Tradition*; That the King being loſt in a *Wood* of Suſpitions, and not knowing whom to truſt, had both intelligence with the *Confeſſors* and *Chaplains* of divers great men, and for the better *Credit* of his *Eſpials* abroad with the contrary ſide, did uſe to have them curſed at St. *Pauls* (by Name) amongſt the *Bead-Roll* of the King's Enemies, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times. Theſe *Eſpials* plyed their Charge ſo roundly, as the King had an *Anatomy* of *Perkin* alive; and was likewiſe well informed of the particular correſpondent *Conſpirators* in *England*, and and many other Myſteries were revealed; and Sir *Robert Clifford* in eſpecial won to be aſſured to the King, and induſtrious and officious for his ſervice. The King therefore (receiving a rich *Return* of his diligence, and great ſatisfaction touching a number of Particulars) firſt divulged and ſpred abroad the *Impoſture* and jugling of *Perkin*'s Perſon and Travels, with the Circumſtances thereof,

thereof, throughout the *Realm.* Not by *Proclamation* (becauſe things were yet in Examination, and ſo might receive the more or the leſs) but by *Court-fames*, which commonly print better than printed *Proclamations.* Then thought he it alſo time to ſend an Ambaſſage unto Archduke *Philip*, into *Flanders*, for the abandoning and diſmiſſing of *Perkin.* Herein he employed Sir *Edward Poynings*, and Sir *William Warham*, Doctor of the Canon Law. The Archduke was then young, and governed by his Council: before whom the Embaſſadors had audience, and Doctor *Warham* ſpake in this manner:

MY *Lords, the King our Maſter is very ſorry, that* England *and your Countrey here of* Flanders *having been counted as Man and Wife for ſo long time, now this Countrey of all others ſhould be the Stage, where a baſe Counterfeit ſhould play the part of a King of* England, *not only to his Graces diſquiet and diſhonour, but to the ſcorn and reproach of all Sovereign Princes. To counterfeit the dead Image of a King in his Coyn, is an high Offence by all Laws: But to counterfeit the living Image of a King in his Perſon, exceedeth all Falſifications, except it ſhould be that of a* Mahomet, *or an* Antichriſt, *that counterfeit Divine Honour. The King hath too great an Opinion of this ſage* Council, *to think that any of you is caught with this Fable, (though way may be given by you to the paſſion of ſome): the thing in it ſelf is ſo improbable. To ſet Teſtimonies aſide of the Death of Duke* Richard, *which the King hath upon Record, plain and infallible (becauſe they may be thought to be in the King's own Power) let the thing teſtifie for it ſelf. Senſe and Reaſon no Power can command. Is it poſſible (trow you) that King* Richard *ſhould damn his Soul, and foul his Name with ſo abominable a Murther, and yet not mend his Caſe? Or do you think, that Men of Blood (that were his Inſtruments) did turn to Pity in the middeſt of their Execution? Whereas in cruel and ſavage Beaſts, and Men alſo, the firſt Draught of Blood doth yet make them more fierce, and enraged. Do you not know, that the Bloody Executioners of Tyrants do go to ſuch Errants, with an Halter about their neck: So that if they perform not, they are ſure to die for it? And do you think, that theſe men would hazard their own lives, for ſparing anothers? Admit they ſhould have ſaved him: What ſhould they have done with him? Turn him into* London-*Streets, that the Watch-men or any Paſſenger that ſhould light upon him, might carry him before a* Juſtice, *and ſo all come to light? Or ſhould they have kept him by them ſecretly? That ſurely would have required a great deal of Care, Charge, and continual Fears. But (my Lords) I labour too much in a clear Buſineſs. The King is ſo wiſe, and hath ſo good Friends abroad, as now he knoweth Duke* Perkin *from his Cradle. And becauſe he is a great Prince, if you have any good Poet here, he can help him with Notes to write his Life; and to parallel him with* Lambert Simnel, *now the King's Falconer. And therefore (to ſpeak plainly to your Lordſhips) it is the*

ſtrangeſt thing in the World, that the Lady Margaret *(excuſe us, if we name her, whoſe Malice to the King is both cauſleſs and endleſs) ſhould now when ſhe is old, at the time when other Women give over Child-bearing, bring forth two ſuch Monſters; being not the Births of nine or ten Months, but of many Years. And whereas other natural Mothers bring forth Children weak, and not able to help themſelves; ſhe bringeth forth tall Striplings, able ſoon after their coming into the World, to bid Battel to mighty Kings. My Lords, we ſtay unwillingly upon this Part. We would to God, that Lady would once taſt the Joys, which God Almighty doth ſerve up unto her, in beholding her Niece to Reign in ſuch Honour, and with ſo much Royal Iſſue, which ſhe might be pleaſed to accompt as her own. The Kings Requeſt unto the Archduke, and your Lordſhips, might be; That, according to the example of King* Charles, *who hath already diſcarded him, you would baniſh this unworthy Fellow out of your Dominions. But becauſe the King may juſtly expect more from an ancient Confederate, than from a new reconciled Enemy; he maketh his Requeſt unto you, to deliver him up into his hands. Pirates and Impoſtures of this ſort, being fit to be accounted the Common Enemies of Mankind, and no ways to be protected by the Law of Nations.*

After ſome time of deliberation, the Ambaſſadors received this ſhort Anſwer:

THat the Archduke, for the love of King Henry, *would in no ſort ayd or aſſiſt the pretended Duke, but in all things conſerve the Amity he had with the King. But for the Ducheſs Dowager, ſhe was abſolute in the Lands of her Dowry, and that he could not let her to diſpoſe of her own.*

THE King, upon the return of the Ambaſſadors, was nothing ſatisfied with this Anſwer. For well he knew, that a *Patrimonial Dowry* carried no part of *Sovereignty*, or Command of *Forces*. Beſides, the Ambaſſadors told him plainly, that they ſaw the Ducheſs had a great *Party* in the Archduke's *Council*; and that howſoever it was carried in a courſe of connivence, yet the Archduke under-hand gave ayd and furtherance to *Perkin*. Wherefore (partly out of *Courage*, and partly out of *Policy*) the King forthwith baniſhed all *Flemings* (as well their Perſons, as their Wares) out of his Kingdom; commanding his Subjects likewiſe (and by name his *Merchants-Adventurers*) which had a Reſiance in *Antwerp*, to return; tranſlating the *Mart* (which commonly followed the *Engliſh* Cloth) unto *Calice*, and embarred alſo all further Trade for the future. This the King did, being ſenſible in point of honour, not to ſuffer a *Pretender* to the Crown of *England*, to affront him ſo near at hand, and he to keep terms of Friendſhip with the *Countrey* where did ſet up. But he had alſo a further reach

reach: for that he knew well, that the Subjects of *Flanders* drew ſo great commodity from the Trade of *England*, as by this *Embargo* they would ſoon wax weary of *Perkin*, and that the Tumults of *Flanders* had been ſo late and freſh, as it was no time for the Prince to diſpleaſe the People. Nevertheleſs for forms ſake, by way of requital, the Archduke did likewiſe baniſh the *Engliſh* out of *Flanders*; which in effect was done to his hand.

The King being well advertiſed, that *Perkin* did more truſt upon Friends and Partakers within the Realm, than upon forein Arms, thought it behoved him to apply the *Remedy*, where the *Diſeaſe* lay; and to proceed with ſeverity againſt ſome of the principal *Conſpirators* here within the Realm; Thereby to purge the ill humours in *England*, and to cool the hopes in *Flanders*. Wherefore he cauſed to be apprehended (almoſt at an inſtant) *John Ratcliff* Lord *Fitz-water*, Sir *Simon Mountford*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William Daubigney*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Chreſſenor*, and *Thomas Aſtwood*. All theſe were arraigned, convicted and condemned for *High-Treaſon*, in adhering, and promiſing ayd to *Perkin*. Of theſe, the Lord *Fitz-water* was conveyed to *Calice*, and there kept in hold, and in hope of life, until ſoon after (either impatient, or betrayed) he dealt with his Keeper to have eſcaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But Sir *Simon Mountford*, *Robert Ratcliff*, and *William Daubigney* were beheaded immediately after their Condemnation. The reſt were pardoned, together with many others, Clerks and Laicks; amongſt which were two *Dominican* Friers, and *William Worſeley*, Dean of St. *Pauls*: which latter ſort paſſed Examination, but came not to publick Tryal.

The *Lord Chamberlain* at that time was not touched; whether it were, that the King would not ſtir too many humours at once, but (after the manner of good Phyſicians) purge the Head laſt; or that *Clifford* (from whom moſt of theſe Diſcoveries came) reſerved that Piece for his own coming over: ſignifying only to the King in the mean time, that he doubted there were ſome greater ones in the buſineſs, whereof he would give the King further account, when he came to his preſence.

Upon *All-hallows-day-even*, being now the tenth year of the King's Reign, the King's ſecond Son *Henry* was created Duke of *York*; and as well the Duke, as divers others, Noblemen, Knights-Batchelors, and Gentlemen of quality were made Knights of the *Bath*, according to the Ceremony. Upon the morrow after *Twelfth-day*, the King removed from *Weſtminſter* (where he had kept his *Chriſtmas*) to the *Tower* of *London*. This he did as ſoon as he had advertiſement, that Sir *Robert Clifford* (in whoſe Boſom or Budget moſt of *Perkin*'s ſecrets were laid up) was come into *England*. And the place of the *Tower* was choſen to that end, that if *Clifford* ſhould accuſe any of the *Great-ones*, they might without ſuſpition, or noiſe, or ſending abroad of Warrants, be preſently attached;

the *Court* and *Priſon* being within the cincture of one Wall. After a day or two, the King drew unto him a ſelected *Council*, and admitted *Clifford* to his preſence; who firſt fell down at his feet, and in all humble manner craved the King's Pardon, which the King then granted, though he were indeed ſecretly aſſured of his life before. Then commanded to tell his knowledge, he did amongſt many others (of himſelf, not interrogated) appeach Sir *William Stanley*, the *Lord Chamberlain* of the King's Houſhold.

The King ſeemed to be much amazed at the naming of this Lord, as if he had heard the news of ſome ſtrange and fearful Prodigy. To hear a man that had done him ſervice of ſo high a nature, as to ſave his Life, and ſet the Crown upon his head; a man, that enjoyed by his favour and advancement, ſo great a fortune, both in Honour and Riches; a man, that was tyed unto him in ſo near a band of Alliance, his Brother having married the King's Mother; and laſtly, a man to whom he had committed the truſt of his Perſon, in making him his *Chamberlain*. That this Man, no ways diſgraced, no ways diſcontent, no ways put in fear, ſhould be falſe unto him. *Clifford* was required to ſay over again, and again, the *Particulars* of his Accuſation; being warned, that in a matter ſo unlikely, and that concerned ſo great a Servant of the King's, he ſhould not in any wiſe go too far. But the King finding that he did ſadly, and conſtantly (without heſitation or varying, and with thoſe civil Proteſtations that were fit) ſtand to that that he had ſaid, offering to juſtifie it upon his ſoul and life; he cauſed him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himſelf unto his *Council* there preſent, gave order that Sir *William Stanley* ſhould be reſtrained in his own Chamber, where he lay before, in the *Square Tower*. And the next day he was examined by the Lords. Upon his *Examination*, he denyed little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuſe or extenuate his fault. So that (not very wiſely) thinking to make his Offence leſs by *Confeſſion*, he made it enough for *Condemnation*. It was conceived, that he truſted much to his former Merits, and the intereſt that his Brother had in the King. But thoſe helps were over-weighed by divers things that made againſt him, and were predominant in the King's nature and mind. Firſt, an *Over-merit*; for convenient Merit, unto which reward may eaſily reach, doth beſt with Kings. Next the ſenſe of his *Power*; for the King thought, that he that could ſet him up, was the more dangerous to pull him down. Thirdly, the glimmering of a *Confiſcation*; for he was the richeſt *Subject* for value in the Kingdom: there being found in his Caſtle of *Holt* forty thouſand Marks in ready Money, and Plate, beſides Jewels, Houſhold-ſtuff, Stocks upon his grounds, and other *Perſonal Eſtate*, exceeding great. And for his *Revenue* in Land and Fee, it was three thouſand Pounds a year of old Rent, a great matter in thoſe times. Laſtly, the Nature

Nature of the *Time*; for if the King had been out of fear of his own Eſtate, it was not unlike he would have ſpared his life. But the Cloud of ſo great a *Rebellion* hanging over his head, made him work ſure. Wherefore after ſome ſix Weeks diſtance of time, which the King did honorably interpoſe, both to give ſpace to his Brother's Interceſſion, and to ſhew to the world, that he had a conflict with himſelf what he ſhould do; he was arraigned of *High-Treaſon*, and condemned, and preſently after beheaded.

Yet it is to this day left but in dark memory, both what the *Caſe* of this Noble Perſon was, for which he ſuffered; and what likewiſe was the ground and cauſe of his defection, and the alienation of his heart from the King. His *Caſe* was ſaid to be this: That in diſcourſe between Sir *Robert Clifford* and him, he had ſaid; *That if he were ſure, that that young man were King* Edward's *Son, he would never bear Arms againſt him.* This *Caſe* ſeems ſomewhat an hard Caſe, both in reſpect of the *Conditional*, and in reſpect of the other words. But for the *Conditional*, it ſeems the *Judges* of that time (who were Learned men, and the three chief of them of the *Privy Council*) thought it was a dangerous thing to admit *Ifs* and *Ands*, to qualifie words of *Treaſon*; whereby every man might expreſs his malice, and blanch his danger. And it was like to the Caſe (in the following times) of *Elizabeth Barton*, the holy Maid of *Kent*; who had ſaid, *That if King* Henry *the Eighth did not take* Catherine *his Wife again, he ſhould be deprived of his Crown, and dye the death of a Dog.* And infinite Caſes may be put of like nature. Which (it ſeemeth) the grave *Judges* taking into Conſideration, would not admit of *Treaſons* upon *Condition.* And as for the *Poſitive* words, *That he would not bear Arms againſt King* Edward's *Son*, though the words ſeem calm, yet it was a plain and direct *Overruling* of the King's Title, either by Line of *Lancaſter*, or by Act of Parliament. Which (no doubt) pierced the King more, than if *Stanley* had charged his Lance upon him in the field. For if *Stanley* would hold that opinion, that a Son of King *Edward* had ſtill the better right, he being ſo principal a perſon of Authority, and favour about the King; it was to teach all *England* to ſay as much. And therefore (as thoſe times were) that ſpeech touched the quick. But ſome Writers do put this out of doubt; for they ſay, that *Stanley* did expreſly promiſe to ayd *Perkin*, and ſent him ſome help of Treaſure.

Now for the *Motive* of his falling off from the King; It is true, that at *Boſworth-Field* the King was be-ſet, and in a manner incloſed round about by the Troops of King *Richard*, and in manifeſt danger of his life; when this *Stanley* was ſent by his Brother, with three thouſand men to his Reſcue, which he performed ſo, that King *Richard* was ſlain upon the Place. So as the condition of Mortal men is not capable of a greater benefit, than the King received by the hands of *Stanley*: being like the benefit of *Chriſt*, at

at once to Save, and Crown. For which ſervice the King gave him great gifts, made him his *Counſellor* and *Chamberlain*; and (ſomewhat contrary to his nature) had winked at the great Spoils of *Boſworth-Field*, which came almoſt wholly to this man's hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet neverthelefs blown up with the conceit of his *Merit*, he did not think he had received good *Meaſure* from the King, at leaſt not *Preſſing-down*, and *Running-over*, as he expected. And his ambition was ſo exorbitant, and unbounded, as he became *Suitor* to the King for the Earldom of *Cheſter*. Which ever being a kind of *Appennage* to the Principality of *Wales*, and uſing to go to the King's Son; his Suit did not only end in a *Denial*, but in a *Diſtaſte*. The King perceiving thereby, that his *Deſires* were intemperate, and his *Cogitations* vaſt, and irregular, and that his former *Benefits* were but cheap, and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore the King began not to brook him well. And as a little *Leaven* of new Diſtaſte doth commonly ſowre the whole *Lump* of former Merits, the King's *Wit* began now to ſuggeſt unto his *Paſſion*, that *Stanley*, at *Boſworth-Field*, though he came time enough to ſave his life, yet he ſtayed long enough to endanger it. But yet having no matter againſt him, he continued him in his *Places*, until this his *Fall*.

After him was made Lord Chamberlain, *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny*, a man of great ſufficiency and valour; the more, becauſe he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common Opinion, That Sir *Robert Clifford* (who now was become the *State-Informer*) was from the beginning an *Emiſſary*, and *Spy* of the King's; and that he fled over into *Flanders* with his conſent and privity. But this is not probable; both becauſe he never recovered that degree of Grace, which he had with the King before his going over: and chiefly, for that the *Diſcovery* which he had made touching the Lord Chamberlain (which was his great Service) grew not from any thing he learn'd abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

Theſe *Executions* (and eſpecially that of the Lord Chamberlain's, which was the chief ſtrength of the *Party*, and by means of Sir *Robert Clifford*, who was the moſt inward man of Truſt amongſt them) did extremely quail the Deſign of *Perkin*, and his complices, as well through Diſcouragement, as Diſtruſt. So that they were now (like *Sand* without *Lime*) ill bound together; eſpecially as many as were *Engliſh*: who were at a gaze, looking ſtrange, one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their *Side*; but thinking, that the King (what with his *Baits*, and what with his *Nets*) would draw them all unto him that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to paſs, that divers came away by the *Thred*, ſometimes one, and ſometimes another. *Barley* (that was Joynt-Commiſſioner with *Clifford*) did hold out one of the longeſt, till *Perkin* was far worn; yet made his Peace at

at the length. But the Fall of this *Great man*, being in ſo high Authority and Favour (as was thought) with the King; and the manner of Carriage of the Buſineſs, as if there had been ſecret Inquiſition upon him, for a great time before, and the Cauſe for which he ſuffered, which was little more, than for ſaying in effect, *That the Title of* York *was better than the Title of* Lancaſter; which was the Caſe almoſt of every man (at the leaſt in Opinion;) was matter of great Terrour amongſt all the King's Servants and Subjects: Inſomuch, as no man almoſt thought himſelf ſecure; and men durſt ſcarce commune or talk one with another: but there was a general Diffidence every where. Which nevertheleſs made the King rather more *Abſolute*, than more *Safe*. For, *Bleeding Inwards and ſhut Vapours ſtrangle ſooneſt, and oppreſs moſt.*

Hereupon preſently came forth *Swarms* and *Volies* of *Libels* (which are the *Guſts* of Liberty of Speech reſtrained, and the *Females* of Sedition) containing bitter *Invectives*, and Slanders againſt the King, and ſome of the *Council*. For the contriving and diſperſing whereof (after great Diligence of Inquiry) five mean perſons were caught, and executed.

Mean while; the King did not neglect *Ireland*, being the Soil where the *Muſhromes* and *Upſtart-Weeds* (that ſpring up in a Night) did chiefly proſper. He ſent therefore from hence (for the better ſetling of his affairs there) *Commiſſioners* of both *Robes:* The *Prior* of *Lanthony*, to be his *Chancellour* in that Kingdom; and Sir *Edward Poynings*, with a Power of Men, and a *Marſhal Commiſſion*, together with a Civil Power of his *Lieutenant*, with a Clauſe, That the Earl of *Kildare*, then *Deputy*, ſhould obey him. But, the *Wild-Iriſh* (who were the principal Offendors) fled into the Woods and Bogs, after their manner: and thoſe, that knew themſelves guilty, in the *Pale*, fled to them. So that Sir *Edward Poynings* was enforced to make a Wild-Chaſe upon the *Wild-Iriſh:* Where (in reſpect of the Mountains and Faſtneſſes) he did little good. Which (either out of a ſuſpicious Melancholy upon his bad *Succeſs*, or the better to ſave his ſervice from *Diſgrace*) he would needs impute unto the *Comfort*, that the *Rebels* ſhould receive under-hand from the Earl of *Kildare*; every light ſuſpition growing upon the Earl, in reſpect of the *Kildare* that was in the Action of *Lambert Simnel*, and ſlain at *Stoke-field*. Wherefore he cauſed the Earl to be apprehended, and ſent into *England*; where, upon Examination, he cleared himſelf ſo well, as he was re-placed in his *Government*. But, *Poynings* (the better to make compenſation of the Meagerneſs of his Service in the Wars, by acts of Peace) called a *Parliament*; where was made that memorable *Act*, which to this day is called *Poynings* Law, whereby all the *Statutes* of *England* were made to be of force in *Ireland*. For, before they were not: neither are any now in force in *Ireland*, which were made in *England* ſince that time; which was the tenth year of the King.

About

About this time, began to be diſcovered in the King that diſpoſition, which, afterward nouriſhed and whet-on by bad *Counſellors* and *Miniſters*, proved the *Blot* of his times; which was, the courſe he took, to cruſh *Treaſure* out of his Subjects Purſes, by Forfeitures upon *Penal Laws*. At this, men did ſtartle the more at this time, becauſe it appeared plainly to be in the King's *Nature*, and not out of his *Neceſſity*, he being now in *Float* for *Treaſure*; For that he had newly received the *Peace-money* from *France*, the *Benevolence-money* from his Subjects, and great *Caſualties* upon the Confiſcations of the *Lord Chamberlain*, and divers others. The firſt noted *Caſe* of this kind; was that of Sir *William Capel*, Alderman of *London*: Who, upon ſundry *Penal Laws*, was condemned in the ſumm of ſeven and twenty hundred Pounds, and compounded with the King for ſixteen hundred: And yet after, *Empſon* would have cut another Chop out of him, if the King had not died in the inſtant.

The Summer following, the King, to comfort his *Mother* (whom he did always tenderly love and revere) and to make Demonſtration to the World, that the proceedings againſt Sir *William Stanley* (which was impoſed upon him by neceſſity of State) had not in any degree diminiſhed the affection he bare to *Thomas*, his Brother; went in Progreſs to *Latham*, to make merry with his Mother, and the Earl; and lay there divers days.

During this Progreſs, *Perkin Warbeck* finding, that time and temporizing, which (whileſt his practices were covert and wrought well in *England*) made for him; did now, when they were diſcovered and defeated, rather make againſt him, (for that when matters once go down the Hill, they ſtay not without a new force) reſolved to try his adventure in ſome exploit upon *England*; hoping ſtill upon the affections of the Common People towards the Houſe of *York*. Which body of Common People he thought was not to be practiſed upon, as perſons of Quality are; But, that they only practice upon their affections, was, to ſet up a *Standard* in the field. The Place where he ſhould make his Attempt, he choſe to be the Coaſt of *Kent*.

The King by this time was grown to ſuch an height of Reputation for cunning and Policy, that every Accident and Event, that went well, was laid and imputed to his foreſight, as if he had ſet it before: As, in this particular of *Perkin*'s Deſign upon *Kent*. For, the world would not believe afterwards, but the King, having ſecret Intelligence of *Perkin*'s intention for *Kent* (the better to draw it on) went of purpoſe into the North, a-far-off, laying an open ſide unto *Perkin*, to make him come to the cloſe, and ſo to trip up his heels, having made ſure in *Kent* beforehand.

But ſo it was, that *Perkin* had gathered together a Power of all Nations, neither in number, nor in the hardineſs and courage of the

the Perſons, contemptible; but, in their nature and fortunes, to be feared as well of *Friends* as *Enemies*; being *Bankrupts*, and many of them *Felons*, and ſuch as lived by *Rapine*. Theſe he put to Sea, and arrived upon the Coaſt of *Sandwich* and *Deal* in *Kent*, about *July*.

There he caſt Anchor; and to prove the affections of the People, ſent ſome of his men to land, making great boaſt of the Power that was to follow. The *Kentiſh-men* (perceiving that *Perkin* was not followed by any *Engliſh* of name or account, and that his forces conſiſted but of ſtrangers born, and moſt of them baſe People, and *Free-booters*, fitter to ſpoil a *Coaſt*, than to recover a *Kingdom*) reſorting unto the principal *Gentlemen* of the Countrey, profeſſed their loyalty to the King, and deſired to be directed and commanded for the beſt of the King's ſervice. The *Gentlemen*, entring into Conſultation, directed ſome forces in good number, to ſhew themſelves upon the *Coaſt*; and ſome of them to make ſigns, to entice *Perkin*'s Soldiers to land, as if they would joyn with them: and ſome others to appear from ſome other places, and to make ſemblance as if they fled from them; the better to encourage them to land. But, *Perkin* (who, by playing the Prince, or elſe taught by Secretary *Frion*, had learned thus much, That People under Command, do uſe to conſult, and after to march in order; and *Rebels* contrariwiſe run upon an *Head* together in confuſion) conſidering the delay of time, and obſerving their orderly, and not tumultuary Arming, doubted the worſt. And therefore the wily *Youth* would not ſet one foot out of his Ship, till he might ſee things were ſure. Wherefore the King's *Forces*, perceiving that they could draw on no more than thoſe that were formerly landed, ſet upon them, and cut them in pieces, ere they could flie back to their Ships. In which *Skirmiſh* (beſides thoſe that fled, and were ſlain) there were taken about an hundred and fifty perſons. Which, for that the King thought, that to puniſh a few for example was *Gentleman's-play*, but for *Raſcal-People*, they were to be cut off every man, eſpecially in the beginning of an Enterprize; and likewiſe for that he ſaw, that *Perkin*'s Forces would now conſiſt chiefly of ſuch *Rabble* and ſcum of deſperate people; he therefore hanged them all, for the greater terrour. They were brought to *London*, all rail'd in Ropes, like a Team of Horſes in a Cart; and were executed ſome of them at *London*, and *Wapping*, and the reſt at divers places upon the Sea-Coaſt of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Norfolk*, for Sea-marks, or Light-houſes, to teach *Perkin*'s People to avoid the Coaſt. The King, being advertiſed of the landing of the *Rebels*, thought to leave his Progreſs: But, being certified the next day, that they were partly defeated, and partly fled, he continued his Progreſs, and ſent Sir *Richard Guilford* into *Kent* in meſſage. Who, calling the Countrey together, did much commend (from the King) their fidelity, manhood, and well handling

of that ſervice; and gave them all thanks, and (in private) promiſed Reward to ſome particulars.

Upon the ſixteenth of *November* (this being the Eleventh year of the King) was holden the *Serjeants-Feaſt*, at *Ely-Place*; there being nine *Serjeants* of that *Call*. The King, to honour the Feaſt, was preſent with his Queen at the Dinner; being a Prince, that was ever ready to grace and countenance the Profeſſors of the *Law*; having a little of that, *That as he governed his* Subjects *by his* Laws, *ſo he governed his* Laws *by his* Lawyers.

This year alſo the King entred into League with the *Italian* Potentates, for the defence of *Italy*, againſt *France*. For, King *Charles* had conquered the Realm of *Naples*, and loſt it again, in a kind of *Felicity* of a Dream. He paſſed the whole length of *Italy* without reſiſtance: ſo that it was true which Pope *Alexander* was wont to ſay; *That the* French-men *came into* Italy, *with Chalk in their hands, to mark up their lodgings, rather than with Swords to fight.* He likewiſe entred and won, in effect, the whole Kingdom of *Naples* it ſelf, without ſtriking ſtroke. But, preſently thereupon, he did commit and multiply ſo many Errours, as was too great a task for the beſt fortune to overcome. He gave no contentment to the Barons of *Naples*, of the Faction of the *Angevines*; but, ſcattered his rewards according to the mercenary appetites of ſome about him. He put all *Italy* upon their Guard, by the ſeizing and holding of *Oſtia*, and the protecting of the Liberty of *Piſa*: which made all men ſuſpect that his purpoſes looked further, than his Title of *Naples*. He fell too ſoon at difference with *Ludovico Sfortia*; who was the man that carried the Keys which brought him in, and ſhut him out. He neglected to extinguiſh ſome reliques of the War. And laſtly, in regard of his eaſie paſſage through *Italy* without reſiſtance, he entred into an over-much deſpiſing of the Arms of the *Italians*: whereby he left the Realm of *Naples*, at his departure, ſo much the leſs provided. So that not long after his return; the whole Kingdom revolted to *Ferdinando* the younger, and the *French* were quite driven out. Nevertheleſs, *Charles* did make both great threats, and great preparations, to re-enter *Italy* once again. Wherefore, at the inſtance of divers of the States of *Italy* (and eſpecially of Pope *Alexander*) there was a League concluded, between the ſaid Pope, *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, *Henry* King of *England*, *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, King and Queen of *Spain* (for ſo they are conſtantly placed in the Original *Treaty* throughout,) *Auguſtiſſimo Barbadico*, Duke of *Venice*; and *Ludovico Sfortia*, Duke of *Millan*, for the common defence of their Eſtates. Wherein though *Ferdinando* of *Naples* was not named as principal; yet, no doubt, the Kingdom of *Naples* was tacitly included, as a *Fee* of the Church.

There dyed alſo this year *Cecile*, Ducheſs of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* the Fourth, at her Caſtle of *Barkhamſtead*, being of extreme years;

years; and who had lived to ſee three Princes of her body crowned, and four murthered. She was buried at *Foderingham*, by her Huſband.

This year alſo the King called his *Parliament*: where many Laws were made, of a more private and vulgar nature, than ought to detain the *Reader* of an *Hiſtory*. And it may be juſtly ſuſpected, by the proceedings following, that as the King did excell in good Common-wealth *Laws*; ſo nevertheleſs he had, in ſecret, a deſign to make uſe of them, as well for collecting of *Treaſure*, as for correcting of *Manners*; and ſo, meaning thereby to harrow his People, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal Law, that was made this *Parliament*, was a Law of a ſtrange nature: rather juſt, than legal; and more magnanimous than provident. This Law did ordain, That no perſon, that did aſſiſt in Arms, or otherwiſe, the King for the time being, ſhould after be impeached therefore, or attainted, either by the courſe of the Law, or by Act of *Parliament*: But, if any ſuch Act of *Attainder* did happen to be made, it ſhould be void, and of none effect; For that it was agreeable to reaſon of *Eſtate*, that the *Subject* ſhould not enquire of the juſtneſs of the King's Title, or *Quarrel*; and it was agreeable to good *Conſcience*, (that whatſoever the fortune of the War were) the *Subject* ſhould not ſuffer for his Obedience. The ſpirit of this Law was wonderful Pious and Noble: being like in matter of *War*, unto the ſpirit of *David* in matter of *Plague*, who ſaid, *If I have ſinned, ſtrike me; but what have theſe ſheep done?* Neither wanted this Law parts of prudent and deep fore-ſight. For, it did the better take away occaſion, for the People to buſie themſelves, to pry into the King's Title; for that howſoever it fell, their ſafety was already provided for. Beſides, it could not but greatly draw unto him, the love and hearts of the People, becauſe he ſeemed more careful for them, than for himſelf. But yet nevertheleſs, it did take off from his *Party*, that great *Tye* and *Spur* of neceſſity, to fight and go *Victors* out of the field; conſidering their lives and fortunes were put in ſafety, and protected, whether they ſtood to it, or ran away. But the force and obligation of this Law was in it ſelf *Illuſory*, as to the latter part of it; by a *precedent* Act of *Parliament*, to bind or fruſtrate a *future*. For a ſupreme and abſolute Power cannot conclude it ſelf, neither can that which is in nature revocable be made fixed; no more than if a man ſhould appoint or declare by his Will, that if he made any Latter Will, it ſhould be void. And for the *Caſe* of the Act of *Parliament*, there is a notable Preſident of it in King *Henry* the Eighth's time: Who, doubting he might dye in the minority of his Son, procured an Act to paſs, *That no Statute made during the minority of the King, ſhould bind him or his Succeſſors, except it were confirmed by the King under his great Seal, at his full age.* But the firſt Act that paſſed in King *Edward* the Sixth his

time, was an Act of *Repeal* of that former Act; at which time nevertheleſs the King was *Minor*. But things that do not bind, may ſatisfie for the time.

There was alſo made a ſhoaring or under-propping Act for the *Benevolence*; to make the ſumms which any perſon had agreed to pay, and nevertheleſs were not brought in, to be leviable by courſe of Law. Which Act did not only bring in the *Arears*, but did indeed countenance the whole buſineſs, and was pretended to be made at the deſire of thoſe, that had been forward to pay.

This *Parliament* alſo was made that good Law, which gave the *Attaint* upon a *falſe Verdict* between *Party* and *Party*, which before was a kind of *Evangile*, irremediable. It extends not to cauſes *Capital*, as well becauſe they are for the moſt part at the King's Suit; as becauſe in them (if they be followed in Courſe of *Indictment*) there paſſeth a double *Jury*, the *Indictors* and the *Tryers*; and ſo not Twelve Men, but Four and twenty. But it ſeemeth that was not the only reaſon; for this reaſon holdeth not in the *Appeal*. But the great reaſon was, leſt it ſhould tend to the diſcouragement of *Jurors* in Caſes of *Life* and *Death*; if they ſhould be ſubject to Suit and Penalty, where the favour of *Life* maketh againſt them. It extendeth not alſo to any Suit, where the *Demand* is under the value of forty Pounds; for that in ſuch Caſes of petty value, it would not quit the Charge, to go about again.

There was another Law made againſt a branch of *Ingratitude* in Women, who having been advanced by their *Husbands*, or their Husbands *Anceſtors*, ſhould alien, and thereby ſeek to defeat the *Heirs*, or thoſe in *Remainder*, of the Lands, whereunto they had been ſo advanced. The remedy was, by giving power to the next, to enter for a forfeiture.

There was alſo enacted that Charitable Law, for the admiſſion of poor Suitors *In Forma Pauperis*, without Fee to *Counſellor*, *Attorney*, or *Clerk*, whereby poor men became rather able to *vex*, than unable to *ſue*. There were divers other good Laws made that *Parliament*, as we ſaid before: but we ſtill obſerve our manner, in ſelecting out thoſe, that are not of a *Vulgar* nature.

The King this while, though he ſate in *Parliament*, as in full *Peace*, and ſeemed to account of the deſigns of *Perkin* (who was now returned into *Flanders*) but as a *May-game*; yet having the compoſition of a wiſe King (*Stout* without, and *Apprehenſive* within) had given order for the watching of *Beacons* upon the Coaſts, and erecting more where they ſtood too thin; and had a careful eye where this wandering *Cloud* would break. But *Perkin* adviſed to keep his fire (which hitherto burned as it were upon green wood) alive, with continual blowing; Sailed again into *Ireland*, whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the hopes *France*, than upon any unreadineſs or diſcouragement he found in that People. But in the ſpace of time between the King's Diligence and

and *Poynings* Commiſſion, had ſo ſetled things there, as there was nothing left for *Perkin*, but the bluſtring affection of wild and naked people. Wherefore he was adviſed by his *Council*, to ſeek ayd of the King of *Scotland*; a *Prince* young, and valorous, and in good terms with his *Nobles* and *People*, and ill affected to King *Henry*. At this time alſo both *Maximilian* and *Charles* of *France* began to bear no good will to the King. The one being diſpleaſed with the King's *Prohibition* of Commerce with *Flanders*; the other holding the King for ſuſpect, in regard of his late entry into League with the *Italians*. Wherefore beſides the open Ayds of the Ducheſs of *Burgandy*, which did with Sails and Oars put on and advance *Perkin*'s deſigns, there wanted not ſome ſecret Tides from *Maximilian* and *Charles*, which did further his fortunes. In ſo much as they, both by their ſecret Letters, and Meſſages, recommended him to the King of *Scotland*.

Perkin therefore coming into *Scotland* upon thoſe hopes, with a well appointed company, was by the King of *Scots* (being formerly well prepared) honourably welcomed, and ſoon after his arrival admitted to his Preſence, in a ſolemn manner. For the King received him in State in his Chamber of *Preſence*, accompanied with divers of his Nobles. And *Perkin* well attended, as well with thoſe that the King had ſent before him, as with his own Train, entred the room where the King was, and coming near to the King, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired ſome paces back, and with a loud voice (that all that were preſent might hear him) made his *Declaration* in this manner:

HIgh and Mighty King, your Grace, and theſe your Nobles here preſent, may be pleaſed benignly to bow your Ears, to hear the Tragedy *of a young Man, that by right ought to hold in his hand the* Ball *of a* Kingdom, *but by Fortune is made Himſelf a* Ball, *toſſed from Miſery to Miſery, and from Place to Place. You ſee here before you the Spectacle of a* Plantagenet, *who hath been carried from the Nurſery to the Sanctuary; from the Sanctuary, to the direful Priſon; from the Priſon, to the hand of the cruel Tormentor; and from that hand, to the wide Wilderneſs (as I may truly call it) for ſo the World hath been to me. So that he that is born to a great Kingdom, hath not ground to ſet his foot upon, more than this where he now ſtandeth, by your Princely Favour.* Edward *the Fourth, late King of* England, *(as your Grace cannot but have heard) left two Sons;* Edward, *and* Richard *Duke of* York, *both very young.* Edward, *the eldeſt ſucceeded their Father in the Crown, by the name of King* Edward *the Fifth. But* Richard, *Duke of* Glocester, *their unnatural Uncle, firſt thirſting after the Kingdom, through Ambition, and afterwards thirſting for their Blood, out of deſire to ſecure himſelf; employed an Inſtrument of his (confident to him, as he thought) to murther them both. But this Man that was employed to execute that execrable* Tragedy, *having cruelly ſlain King* Edward,

Edward *the eldeſt of the two, was moved partly by Remorſe, and partly by ſome other mean, to ſave* Richard *his Brother; making a Report nevertheleſs to the Tyrant, that he had performed his Commandment for both Brethren. This Report was accordingly believed, and publiſhed generally. So that the World hath been poſſeſſed of an Opinion, that they both were barbarouſly made away, though ever Truth hath ſome ſparks that flie abroad, until it appear in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty God, that ſtopped the mouth of the Lion, and ſaved little* Joas *from the Tyranny of* Athaliah, *when ſhe maſſacred the King's Chilaren; and did ſave* Iſaac, *when the hand was ſtretched forth to ſacrifice him, preſerved the ſecond Brother. For I my ſelf, that ſtand here in your preſence, am that very* Richard, *Duke of* York, *Brother of that infortunate Prince, King* Edward *the Fifth, now the moſt rightful ſurviving Heir-male to that Victorious and moſt Noble* Edward, *of that name the Fourth, late King of* England. *For the manner of my Eſcape, it is fit it ſhould paſs in ſilence, or (at leaſt) in a more ſecret Relation: for that it may concern ſome alive, and the memory of ſome that are dead. Let it ſuffice to think, that I had then a Mother living, a Queen, and one that expected daily ſuch a Commandment from the Tyrant, for the murthering of her Children. Thus in my tender age eſcaping by God's mercy out of* London, *I was ſecretly conveyed over Sea. Where, after a time, the Party that had me in Charge, (upon what new Fears, change of Mind, or Practice, God knoweth) ſuddenly forſook me. Whereby I was forced to wander abroad, to ſeek mean Conditions for the ſuſtaining of my Life. Wherefore diſtracted between ſeveral Paſſions, the one of fear to be known, leſt the Tyrant ſhould have a new Attempt upon me; the other of Grief and Diſdain to be unknown, and to live in that baſe and ſervile manner that I did; I reſolved with my ſelf to expect the Tyrant's death, and then to put my ſelf into my Siſters hands, who was next Heir to the Crown. But in this ſeaſon, it happened one* Henry Tidder, *Son to* Edmond Tidder *Earl of* Richmond, *to come from* France, *and enter into the Realm, and by ſubtil and foul means to obtain the Crown of the ſame, which to me rightfully appertained. So that it was but a change, from Tyrant to Tyrant. This* Henry, *my extreme and mortal Enemy, ſo ſoon as he had knowledge of my being alive, imagined and wrought all the ſubtil ways and means he could, to procure my final Deſtruction. For my mortal Enemy hath not only falſly ſurmiſed me to be a feigned Perſon, giving me Nick-names, ſo abuſing the World; but alſo, to deferr and put me from entry into* England, *hath offered large ſumms of Money, to corrupt the Princes and their Miniſters, with whom I have been retained; and made importune Labours to certain Servants about my Perſon, to murther or Poyſon me, and others to forſake and leave my righteous Quarrel, and to depart from my Service, as Sir* Robert Clifford, *and others. So that every man of Reaſon may well perceive, that* Henry, *calling himſelf King of* England, *needed not to have beſtowed ſuch great ſumms of Treaſure, nor ſo to have buſied himſelf with importune and inceſſant Labour and Induſtry, to compaſs my Death and Ruine, if I had been*

been ſuch a feigned Perſon. But the truth of my Cauſe being ſo manifeſt, moved the moſt Chriſtian King Charles, *and the Lady Ducheſs Dowager of* Burgundy, *my moſt dear Aunt, not only to acknowledge the truth thereof, but lovingly to aſſiſt me. But it ſeemeth that God above (for the good of this whole Iſland, and the knitting of theſe two Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland *in a ſtrait Concord and Amity, by ſo great an Obligation) had reſerved the placing of me in the Imperial Throne of* England, *for the Arms and Succours of your Grace. Neither is it the firſt time that a King of* Scotland *hath ſupported them, that were bereft and ſpoiled of the Kingdom of* England; *as of late (in freſh memory) it was done in the Perſon of* Henry *the Sixth. Wherefore for that your Grace hath given clear ſigns, that you are in no Noble quality inferiour to your Royal Anceſtors; I, ſo diſtreſſed a Prince, was hereby moved to come and put my ſelf into your Royal Hands, deſiring your Aſſiſtance to recover my Kingdom of* England; *promiſing faithfully to bear my ſelf towards your Grace no otherwiſe, than if I were your own Natural Brother, and will upon the Recovery of mine Inheritance, gratefully do you all the Pleaſure that is in my utmoſt Power.*

AFter *Perkin* had told his Tale, King *James* anſwered bravely and wiſely; *That whatſoever he were, he ſhould not repent him of putting himſelf into his hand.* And from that time forth, though there wanted not ſome about him, that would have perſwaded him, that all was but an Illuſion; yet notwithſtanding, either taken by *Perkin*'s amiable and alluring behaviour, or inclining to the recommendation of the great *Princes* abroad, or willing to take an occaſion of a War againſt King *Henry*, he entertained him in all things, as became the perſon of *Richard* Duke of *York*; embraced his Quarrel; (and the more to put it out of doubt, that he took him to be a great *Prince*, and not a *Repreſentation* only) he gave conſent that this Duke ſhould take to Wife the Lady *Catherine Gordon*, Daughter to Earl *Huntley*, being a near Kinſwoman to the King himſelf, and a young Virgin of excellent beauty and virtue.

Not long after, the King of *Scots* in perſon, with *Perkin* in his company, entred with a great Army (though it conſiſted chiefly of Borderers, being raiſed ſomewhat ſuddenly) into *Northumberland*. And *Perkin*, for a Perfume before him as he went, cauſed to be publiſhed a *Proclamation* of this tenour following, in the name of *Richard* Duke of *York*, true Inheritor of the Crown of *England*.

* *IT hath pleaſed God, who putteth down the Mighty from their Seat, and exalteth the Humble, and ſuffereth not the hopes of the Juſt to periſh in the end, to give Us means at the length, to ſhew Our Selves armed unto Our Lieges and People of* England. *But far be it from Us, to intend their hurt and damage, or to make War upon them, otherwiſe than to deliver Our Self and them from Tyranny and Oppreſſion. For, Our mortal Enemy* Henry Tidder, *a falſe Uſurper of*

* The Original of this *Proclamation* remaineth with Sir *Robert Cotton*, a worthy Preſerver and Treaſurer of rare Antiquities: from whoſe *Manuſcripts* I have had much light for the furniſhing of this Work.

of the Crown of England, *(which to Us by Natural and Lineal Right appertaineth) knowing in his own Heart Our undoubted Right, (We being the very* Richard, *Duke of* York, *younger Son, and now surviving Heir-male of the Noble and Victorious* Edward *the Fourth, late King of* England) *hath not only deprived Us of Our Kingdom, but likewise by all foul and wicked means, sought to betray Us, and bereave Us of Our Life. Yet if his Tyranny only extended it self to Our Person (although Our Royal Blood teacheth Us to be sensible of Injuries) it should be less to Our Grief. But this* Tidder, *who boasteth himself to have overthrown a Tyrant, hath ever since his first entrance into his Usurped Reign, put little in practice, but Tyranny and the feats thereof.*

For King Richard *Our unnatural Uncle, although desire of Rule did blind him, yet in his other actions (like a true* Plantagenet) *was Noble, and loved the Honour of the Realm, and the Contentment and Comfort of his Nobles and People. But this Our Mortal Enemy (agreeable to the meanness of his Birth) hath trod under foot the Honour of this Nation; selling Our best Confederates for Money, and making Merchandize of the Blood, Estates, and Fortunes of Our Peers and Subjects, by feigned wars, and dishonourable Peace, only to enrich his Coffers. Nor unlike hath been his hateful Mis-government, and evil Deportments at home. First, he hath (to fortifie his false Quarrel) caused divers Nobles of this Our Realm (whom he held Suspect, and stood in dread of) to be cruelly murthred; as Our Cousin Sir* William Stanley *Lord Chamberlain, Sir* Simon Mountfort, *Sir* Robert Ratcliff, William Dawbeney, Humphrey Stafford, *and many others, besides such as have dearly bought their Lives with intolerable Ransoms. Some of which Nobles are now in the* Sanctuary. *Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in Prison, Our right entirely beloved Cousin* Edward, *Son and Heir to Our Uncle Duke of* Clarence, *and others; with-holding from them their rightful Inheritance, to the intent they should never be of might and power, to aid and assist Us at Our need, after the duty of their Liegeances. He also married by compulsion certain of Our Sisters, and also the Sister of Our said Cousin the Earl of* Warwick, *and divers other Ladies of the Royal Blood, unto certain of his Kinsmen and Friends of simple and low Degree, and putting apart all well-disposed Nobles, he hath none in favour and trust about his Person, but Bishop* Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David Owen, Risley, Turbervile, Tiler, Cholmley, Empson, James Hobart, John Cut, Garth, Henry Wyat, *and such other Caitiffs and Villains of Birth, which by subtil Inventions and Pilling of the People, have been the principal Finders, Occasioners, and Counsellors of the Mis-rule and Mischief now reigning in* England.

We remembring these Premisses, with the great and execrable Offences daily committed and done by Our foresaid great Enemy, and his Adherents, in breaking the Liberties and Franchises of Our Mother the Holy Church, upon pretences of Wicked and Heathenish Policy, to the high displeasure of Almighty God; besides the manifold Treasons, abominable Murthers, Man-slaughters, Robberies, Extortions, the daily Pilling of the People,

by

by Diſms, Taxes, Tallages, Benevolences, *and other unlawful Impoſitions, and grievous Exactions, with many other heinous Effects, to the likely deſtruction and deſolation of the whole Realm; ſhall by God's grace, and the help and aſſiſtance of the great Lords of Our Blood, with the counſel of other ſad Perſons, ſee that the Commodities of Our Realm be employed to the moſt advantage of the ſame; the intercourſe of Merchandiſe betwixt Realm and Realm, to be miniſtred and handled, as ſhall more be to the Common-weal and proſperity of Our Subjects; and all ſuch* Diſms, Taxes, Tallages, Benevolences, *unlawful Impoſitions, and grievous Exactions, as be above rehearſed to be fore-done and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in ſuch caſes as Our Noble Progenitors, Kings of* England, *have of old time been accuſtomed to have the ayd, ſuccour, and help of their Subjects and true Liege-men.*

And further, We do out of Our Grace and Clemency, hereby as well publiſh and promiſe to all our Subjects Remiſſion and free Pardon of all By-paſt Offences whatſoever, againſt Our Perſon, or Eſtate, in adhering to Our ſaid Enemy, by whom (We know well) they have been miſ-led, if they ſhall within time convenient ſubmit themſelves unto Us. And for ſuch as ſhall come with the foremoſt, to aſſiſt Our Righteous Quarrel, we ſhall make them ſo far partakers of Our Princely Favour and Bounty, as ſhall be highly for the Comfort of them and theirs, both during their life, and after their death. As alſo we ſhall by all means, which God ſhall put into Our hands, demean Our ſelves to give Royal contentment to all Degrees and Eſtates of Our People, maintaining the Liberties of Holy Church in their Entire, preſerving the Honours, Priviledges, and Preheminences of Our Nobles, from contempt or diſparagement, according to the dignity of their Blood. We ſhall alſo unyoak Our People from all heavy Burthens and Endurances, and confirm Our Cities, Boroughs, and Towns in their Charters and Freedoms, with enlargement, where it ſhall be deſerved; and in all points give Our Subjects cauſe to think, that the bleſſed and debonair Government of Our Noble Father King Edward *(in his laſt times) is in Us revived.*

And for as much as the putting to death, or taking alive of Our ſaid Mortal Enemy, may be a mean to ſtay much effuſion of Blood, which otherwiſe may enſue, if by Compulſion or fair Promiſes, he ſhall draw after him any number of Our Subjects to reſiſt Us; which We deſire to avoid (though We be certainly informed, that Our ſaid Enemy is purpoſed and prepared to flie the Land, having already made over great maſſes of the Treaſure of Our Crown, the better to ſupport him in Forein Parts) We do hereby declare, That whoſoever ſhall take or diſtreſs Our ſaid Enemy (though the Party be of never ſo mean a Condition) he ſhall be by Us rewarded with a Thouſand Pound in Money, forthwith to be laid down to him, and an Hundred Marks by the year of Inheritance; beſides that he may otherwiſe merit, both toward God and all good People, for the deſtruction of ſuch a Tyrant.

Laſtly, We do all men to wit, and herein We take alſo God to witneſs,

That whereas God hath moved the Heart of Our deareſt Couſin, the King of Scotland, *to aid Us in Perſon, in this Our righteous Quarrel; it is altogether without any Pact or Promiſe, or ſo much as demand of any thing, that may prejudice Our Crown, or Subjects: But contrariwiſe with promiſe on Our ſaid Couſin's part, that whenſoever he ſhall find Us in ſufficient ſtrength to get the upper hand of Our Enemy, (which we hope will be very ſuddenly) he will forthwith peaceably return into his own Kingdom; contenting himſelf only with the glory of ſo Honourable an Enterprize, and Our true and faithful Love and Amity. Which We ſhall ever (by the Grace of Almighty God) ſo order, as ſhall be to the great comfort of both Kingdoms.*

BUT *Perkin*'s Proclamation did little edifie with the people of *England*; neither was he the better welcom for the company he came in. Wherefore the King of *Scotland* ſeeing none came in to *Perkin*, nor none ſtirred any where in his favour, turned his Enterprize into a *Rode*; and waſted and deſtroyed the Countrey of *Northumberland* with fire and ſword. But hearing that there were Forces coming againſt him, and not willing that they ſhould find his men heavy and laden with booty, he returned into *Scotland* with great Spoils, deferring further proſecution, till another time. It is ſaid, that *Perkin* acting the part of a Prince handſomly, when he ſaw the *Scottiſh* fell to waſte the Countrey, came to the the King in a paſſionate manner, making great lamentation, and deſired, That that might not be the manner of making the War; for that no *Crown* was ſo dear to his mind, as that he deſired to purchaſe it with the blood and ruine of his *Countrey*. Whereunto the King anſwered half in ſport; that he doubted much, he was careful for that that was none of his, and that he ſhould be too good a *Steward* for his Enemy, to ſave the Countrey to his uſe.

By this time, being the Eleventh year of the King, the Interruption of Trade between the *Engliſh* and the *Flemmiſh*, began to pinch the *Merchants* of both Nations very ſore. Which moved them, by all means they could deviſe, to affect and diſpoſe their *Sovereigns* reſpectively, to open the *Intercourſe* again. Wherein, time favoured them. For the Arch-Duke and his Council began to ſee, that *Perkin* would prove but a *Runnagate*, and *Citizen* of the *World*; and that it was the part of Children to fall out about *Babies*. And the King on his part, after the Attempts upon *Kent* and *Northumberland*, began to have the buſineſs of *Perkin* in leſs eſtimation; ſo as he did not put it to accompt, in any Conſultation of *State*. But that that moved him moſt, was, that being a King that loved Wealth and Treaſure, he could not endure to have *Trade* ſick, nor any Obſtruction to continue in the *Gate-vein*, which diſperſeth that blood. And yet he kept State ſo far, as firſt to be ſought unto. Wherein the *Merchant-Adventurers* likewiſe, (being a ſtrong Company at that time, and well under-ſet with rich men,

and

and good order) did hold out bravely; taking off the Commodities of the *Kingdom*, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of *Vent*. At the laſt, *Commiſſioners* met at *London*, to Treat. On the King's part; Biſhop *Fox* Lord Privy Seal, Viſcount *Wells*, *Kendal* Prior of St. *John*'s, *Warham* Maſter of the *Rolls*, who began to gain much upon the King's opinion; *Urſwick*, who was almoſt ever one; and *Riſley*. On the Arch-Duke's part, the Lord *Bevers* his Admiral, the Lord *Verunſel* Preſident of *Flanders*, and others. Theſe concluded a perfect Treaty, both of *Amity* and *Intercourſe*, between the King and the Arch-Duke; containing Articles both of *State*, *Commerce*, and *Free-Fiſhing*. This is that *Treaty*, which the *Flemings* call at this day, *Intercurſus Magnus*; both becauſe it is more compleat, than the precedent Treaties of the Third and Fourth years of the King: and chiefly to give it a difference from the *Treaty* that followed in the One and twentieth year of the King, which they call *Intercurſus Malus*. In this *Treaty*, there was an expreſs Article againſt the *Reception* of the *Rebels* of either *Prince* by other; purporting, that if any ſuch *Rebel* ſhould be required by the *Prince* whoſe *Rebel* he was, of the *Prince Confederate*, that forthwith the *Prince Confederate* ſhould by *Proclamation* command him to avoid the Countrey. Which if he did not within fifteen days, the *Rebel* was to ſtand proſcribed, and put out of *Protection*. But nevertheleſs in this Article, *Perkin* was not named, neither perhaps contained, becauſe he was no *Rebel*. But by this means his wings were clipt off his Followers, that were *Engliſh*. And it was expreſly compriſed in the *Treaty*, that it ſhould extend to the *Territories* of the *Ducheſs Dowager*. After the *Intercourſe* thus reſtored; the *Engliſh* Merchants came again to their Manſion at *Antwerp*, where they were received with *Proceſſion* and great Joy.

The Winter following, being the Twelfth year of his reign, the King called again his *Parliament*: Where he did much exaggerate both the *Malice*, and the cruel *Predatory War* lately made by the King of *Scotland*; That that King, being in Amity with him, and no ways provoked, ſhould ſo burn in hatred towards him, as to drink of the *Lees* and *Dregs* of *Perkin*'s Intoxication, who was every where elſe detected and diſcarded. And that when he perceived it was out of his reach, to do the King any hurt, he had turned his Arms upon unarmed and unprovided people, to ſpoil only and depopulate, contrary to the *Laws* both of *War* and *Peace*: Concluding, that he could neither with Honour, nor with the ſafety of his People, to whom he did owe Protection, let paſs theſe wrongs unrevenged. The *Parliament* underſtood him well, and gave him a *Subſidy*, limited to the ſumm of one hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds, beſides two *Fifteens*. For his *Wars* were always to him as a *Mine* of *Treaſure*, of a ſtrange kind of *Ore*; *Iron* at the top, and *Gold* and *Silver* at the bottom. At this *Parliament* (for that

there had been ſo much time ſpent in making *Laws* the year before, and for that it was called purpoſely in reſpect of the *Scottiſh* War) there were no *Laws* made to be remembred. Only there paſſed a *Law*, at the Suit of the *Merchant-Adventurers* of *England*, againſt the *Merchant-Adventurers* of *London*, for *Monopolizing* and exacting upon the Trade: which it ſeemeth they did, a little to ſave themſelves, after the hard time they had ſuſtained by want of Trade. But thoſe *Innovations* were taken away by *Parliament*.

But it was fatal to the King, to fight for his Money. And though he avoided to fight with *Enemies* abroad, yet he was ſtill enforced to fight for it with *Rebels* at home. For no ſooner began the *Subſidie* to be levied in *Cornwal*, but the people there began to grudge and murmur. The *Corniſh* being a race of men, ſtout of ſtomach, mighty of body and limb, and that lived hardly in a barren Countrey, and many of them could (for a need) live under ground, that were *Tinners*; they muttered extremely, that it was a thing not to be ſuffered, that for a little ſtir of the *Scots*, ſoon blown over, they ſhould be thus grinded to Powder with *Payments*: And ſaid, it was for them to pay, that had too much, and lived idly. But they would eat the bread they got with the ſweat of their brows, and no man ſhould take it from them. And as in the *Tides* of *People* once up, there want not commonly ſtirring *Winds* to make them more rough: So this People did light upon two *Ring-leaders*, or Captains of the *Rout*. The one was one *Michael Joſeph*, a Black-ſmith or Farrier of *Bodmin*; a notable talking Fellow, and no leſs deſirous to be talked of. The other was *Thomas Flammocke*, a Lawyer; who, by telling his neighbours commonly upon any occaſion, that the *Law* was on their ſide, had gotten great ſway amongſt them. This man talked learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a *Rebellion*, and never break the *Peace*. He told the people, that *Subſidies* were not to be granted nor levied in this caſe; that is, for Wars of *Scotland*, (for that the *Law* had provided another courſe, by ſervice of *Eſcuage*, for thoſe Journies,) much leſs when all was quiet, and War was made but a *Pretence* to poll and pill the *People*: And therefore that it was good, they ſhould not ſtand now like ſheep before the Shearers, but put on Harneſs, and take Weapons in their hands: Yet to do no creature hurt; but go and deliver the King a *Strong Petition*, for the laying down of thoſe grievous *Payments*, and for the puniſhment of thoſe that had given him that Counſel; to make others beware how they did the like in time to come: And ſaid, for his part he did not ſee how they could do the duty of true *Engliſh-men*, and good *Liege-men*, except they did deliver the King from ſuch wicked Ones that would deſtroy both Him and the Countrey. Their aim was at Archbiſhop *Morton*, and Sir *Reginald Bray*, who were the King's *Skreens* in this Envy.

After that theſe two, *Flammocke* and the Black-ſmith, had, by joynt

joynt and ſeveral *Pratings*, found tokens of conſent in the *Multitude*, they offered themſelves to lead them, until they ſhould hear of better men, to be their *Leaders*; which they ſaid would be ere long: Telling them further, that they would be but their ſervants, and firſt in every danger; but doubted not but to make both the Weſt-end and Eaſt-end of *England* to meet in ſo good a *Quarrel*; and that all (rightly underſtood) was but for the King's ſervice. The *People*, upon theſe ſeditious *Inſtigations*, did arm (moſt of them with *Bows*, and *Arrows*, and *Bills*, and ſuch other Weapons of rude and Countrey People) and forthwith under the *Command* of their *Leaders* (which in ſuch caſes is ever at pleaſure) marched out of *Cornwal*, through *Devonſhire*, unto *Taunton* in *Somerſetſhire*, without any ſlaughter, violence, or ſpoil of the Countrey. At *Taunton* they killed, in fury, an officious and eager *Commiſſioner* for the *Subſidie*, whom they called the *Provoſt* of *Perin*. Thence they marched to *Wells*: where the Lord *Audley* (with whom their *Leaders* had, before, ſome ſecret *Intelligence*) a Noble-man of an ancient *Family*, but unquiet and popular, and aſpiring to Ruine, came-in to them, and was by them (with great gladneſs and cries of Joy) accepted as their *General*; they being now proud, that they were led by a *Noble-man*. The Lord *Audley* led them on from *Wells* to *Saliſbury*, and from *Saliſbury* to *Wincheſter*. Thence the fooliſh people, who (in effect) led their *Leaders*, had a mind to be led into *Kent*; fancying, that the people there would joyn with them, contrary to all reaſon or judgment; conſidering, the *Kentiſh-men* had ſhewed great Loyalty and Affection to the King ſo lately before. But the rude People had heard *Flammock* ſay, that Kent *was never Conquered, and that they were the freeſt People of* England. And, upon theſe vain Noiſes, they looked for great matters at their hands, in a cauſe which they conceited to be for the liberty of the *Subject*. But when they were come into *Kent*, the Countrey was ſo well ſetled, both by the King's late kind uſage towards them, and by the credit and power of the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Abergaveny*, and the Lord *Cobham*, as neither *Gentleman* nor *Yeoman* came-in to their aid; which did much damp and diſmay many of the ſimpler ſort: Inſomuch, as divers of them did ſecretly flie from the *Army*, and went home. But the ſturdier ſort, and thoſe that were moſt engaged, ſtood by it, and rather waxed *Proud*, than failed in *Hopes* and *Courage*. For as it did ſomewhat appall them, that the people came not in to them; ſo it did no leſs encourage them, that the King's *Forces* had not ſet upon them, having marched from the Weſt unto the Eaſt of *England*. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped upon *Black-heath*, between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*; threatning either to bid *Battel* to the King, (for now the Seas went higher than to *Morton*, and *Bray*) or to take *London* within his view, imagining with themſelves, there to find no leſs *Fear*, than *Wealth*.

But

But to return to the King. When first he heard of this *Commotion* of the *Corniſh-men* occaſioned by the *Subſidie*, he was much troubled therewith: Not for it ſelf, but in regard of the Concurrence of other *Dangers*, that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted leſt a *War* from *Scotland*, a *Rebellion* from *Cornwal*, and the Practices and *Conſpiracies* of *Perkin* and his Partakers, would come upon him at once; Knowing well, that it was a dangerous *Triplicity* to a *Monarchy*, to have the *Arms* of a *Foreiner*, the *Diſcontents* of *Subjects*, and the *Title* of a *Pretender*, to meet. Nevertheleſs, the *Occaſion* took him in ſome part well provided. For as ſoon as the *Parliament* had broken up, the King had preſently raiſed a puiſſant Army, to war upon *Scotland*. And King *James* of *Scotland* likewiſe, on his part, had made great preparations either for defence, or for new aſſailing of *England*. But as for the King's Forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readineſs preſently to ſet forth, under the Conduct of *Dawbeney*, the Lord Chamberlain. But as ſoon as the King underſtood of the Rebellion of *Cornwal*, he ſtayed thoſe Forces, retaining them for his own ſervice and ſafety. But therewithal he diſpatched the Earl of *Surrey* into the North, for the defence and ſtrength of thoſe parts, in caſe the *Scots* ſhould ſtir. But for the courſe he held towards the *Rebels*, it was utterly differing from his former cuſtom, and practice; which was ever full of forwardneſs and celerity, to make head againſt them, or to ſet upon them as ſoon as ever they were in Action. This he was wont to do. But now, beſides that he was attempered by *Years*, and leſs in love with *Dangers*, by the continued Fruition of a *Crown*; it was a time when the various appearance to his Thoughts of *Perils* of ſeveral *Natures*, and from divers *Parts*, did make him judge it his beſt and ſureſt way, to keep his Strength together, in the Seat and *Centre* of his Kingdom. According to the ancient *Indian* Emblem; in ſuch a ſwelling Seaſon, *To hold the hand upon the middle of the Bladder, that no ſide might riſe.* Beſides, there was no neceſſity put upon him, to alter this Counſel. For neither did the *Rebels* ſpoil the *Countrey*; in which caſe it had been diſhonour to abandon his *People*: Neither on the other ſide, did their Forces gather or increaſe, which might haſten him to precipitate and aſſail them, before they grew too ſtrong. And laſtly, both *Reaſon* of *Eſtate* and *War* ſeemed to agree with this courſe; For that *Inſurrections* of *baſe People* are commonly more furious in their Beginnings. And by this means alſo he had them the more at *Vantage*, being tired and harraſſed with a long march; and more at *Mercy*, being cut off far from their *Countrey*, and therefore not able by any ſudden flight to get to *Retrait*, and to renew the *Troubles*.

When therefore the *Rebels* were encamped on *Black-heath*, upon the Hill, whence they might behold the City of *London*, and the fair Valley about it: the King knowing well, that it ſtood him upon,

by

by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the time in not encountring them, by ſo much the ſooner to diſpatch with them, that it might appear to have been no *Coldneſs* in foreſlowing, but *Wiſdom* in chooſing his time; reſolved with all ſpeed to aſſail them, and yet with that Providence, and Surety, as ſhould leave little to *Venture* or *Fortune*. And having very great and puiſſant Forces about him, the better to maſter all *Events* and *Accidents*, he divided them into three parts. The firſt was led by the Earl of *Oxford* in chief, aſſiſted by the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*. Theſe Noble-men were appointed, with ſome *Cornets* of *Horſe*, and *Bands* of *Foot*, and good ſtore of *Artillery* wheeling about to put themſelves beyond the Hill, where the *Rebels* were encamped; and to beſet all the skirts and deſcents thereof, except thoſe that lay towards *London*; whereby to have theſe *Wild Beaſts* (as it were) in a *Toyl*. The ſecond part of his Forces (which were thoſe that were to be moſt in *Action*, and upon which he relyed moſt for the *Fortune* of the *Day*) he did aſſign to be led by the *Lord Chamberlain*, who was appointed to ſet upon the *Rebels* in Front, from that ſide which is toward *London*. The third part of his Forces (being likewiſe great and brave Forces) he retained about himſelf, to be ready, upon all *Events*, to reſtore the *Fight*, or conſummate the *Victory*; and mean while, to ſecure the City. And for that purpoſe he encamped in Perſon in St. *George*'s Fields, putting himſelf between the City and the *Rebels*. But the City of *London* (ſpecially at the firſt) upon the near encamping of the *Rebels*, was in great Tumult: As it uſeth to be with wealthy and populous Cities, (eſpecially thoſe, which, for greatneſs and fortune, are *Queens* of their *Regions*) who ſeldom ſee out of their *Windows*, or from their *Towers*, an *Army* of Enemies. But that which troubled them moſt, was the conceit, that they dealt with a *Rout* of *People*, with whom there was no Compoſition, or Condition, or orderly Treating, if need were; but likely to be bent altogether upon Rapine and Spoil. And although they had heard that the *Rebels* had behaved themſelves quietly and modeſtly, by the way as they went; yet they doubted much, that would not laſt, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite, to fall upon ſpoil in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of People, ſome to the *Gates*, ſome to the *Walls*, ſome to the *Water-ſide*; giving themſelves *Alarms*, and *Panick fears* continually. Nevertheleſs, both *Tate* the Lord Mayor, and *Shaw*, and *Haddon*, the Sheriffs, did their parts ſtoutly and well, in arming and ordering the People. And the King likewiſe did adjoyn ſome *Captains* of experience in the Wars, to adviſe and aſſiſt the *Citizens*. But ſoon after, when they underſtood that the King had ſo ordered the matter, that the *Rebels* muſt win three *Battels*, before they could approach the City, and that he had put his own Perſon between the *Rebels* and them, and that the great care was rather how

how to impound the *Rebels*, that none of them might eſcape, than that any doubt was made to vanquiſh them; they grew to be quiet and out of fear. The rather, for the confidence they repoſed (which was not ſmall) in the three Leaders, *Oxford*, *Eſſex*, and *Dawbeney*; all, men famed and loved amongſt the People. As for *Jaſper* Duke of *Bedford*, whom the King uſed to employ with the firſt in his Wars, he was then ſick, and dyed ſoon after.

It was the two and twentieth of *June*, and a Saturday (which was the day of the week the King fancied) when the *Battel* was fought; though the King had, by all the Art he could deviſe, given out a falſe Day, as if he prepared to give the *Rebels* Battel on the Monday following, the better to find them unprovided, and in diſarray. The *Lords*, that were appointed to circle the Hill, had ſome days before planted themſelves (as at the Receipt) in places convenient. In the afternoon, towards the decline of the day, (which was done, the better to keep the *Rebels* in opinion that they ſhould not fight that day) the Lord *Dawbeney* marched on towards them, and firſt beat ſome Troops of them from *Detford-bridge*, where they fought manfully: But being in no great number were ſoon driven back, and fled up to their main *Army* upon the Hill. The *Army*, at that time hearing of the approach of the King's Forces, were putting themſelves in Array, not without much Confuſion. But neither had they placed upon the firſt high-ground towards the *Bridge*, any Forces to ſecond the Troops below, that kept the *Bridge*; neither had they brought forwards their Main-Battel (which ſtood in array far into the *Heath*) near to the aſcent of the Hill. So that the Earl with his Forces mounted the Hill, and recovered the Plain, without reſiſtance. The Lord *Dawbeney* charged them with great fury; Inſomuch, as it had like (by accident) to have brandled the Fortune of the Day. For, by inconſiderate Forwardneſs in fighting in the head of his Troops, he was taken by the *Rebels*; but, immediately reſcued, and delivered. The *Rebels* maintained the Fight for a ſmall time, and for their Perſons ſhewed no want of courage: but being ill armed, and ill led, and without *Horſe* or *Artillery*, they were with no great difficulty cut in pieces, and put to flight. And for their three Leaders; the Lord *Audley*, the Black-ſmith, and *Flammocke*, (as, commonly the Captains of *Commotions* are but *half-couraged Men*) ſuffered themſelves to be taken alive. The number ſlain on the *Rebels* part, were ſome two thouſand men; their Army amounting (as it is ſaid) unto the number of ſixteen thouſand. The reſt were (in effect) all taken; for that the Hill, as was ſaid, was encompaſſed with the King's Forces round about. On the King's part there dyed about three hundred; moſt of them ſhot with Arrows, which were reported to be of the length of a *Taylor's-yard*: So ſtrong and mighty a Bow the *Corniſh-men* were ſaid to draw.

The

The *Victory* thus obtained, the King created divers *Bannerets*, as well upon *Black-heath*, where his *Lieutenant* had won the *Field* (whither he rode in Perſon to perform the ſaid *Creation*) as in St. *George*'s Fields, where his own perſon had been encamped: And for matter of *Liberality*, he did (by open *Edict*) give the goods of all the *Priſoners*, unto thoſe that had taken them; either to take them in Kind, or compound for them as they could. After matter of *Honour* and *Liberality*, followed matter of *Severity* and *Execution*. The Lord *Audley* was led from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a Paper-Coat painted with his own *Arms*; the *Arms* reverſed, the Coat torn, and he at *Tower-hill* beheaded. *Flammocke*, and the Black-ſmith were hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Tyburn*; The Black-ſmith taking pleaſure upon the *Hurdle* (as it ſeemeth by words that he uttered) to think that he ſhould be famous in after-times. The King was once in mind to have ſent down *Flammocke*, and the Black-ſmith, to have been executed in *Cornwal*, for the more terrour. But, being advertiſed, that the Countrey was yet unquiet and boyling, he thought better not to irritate the People further. All the reſt were pardoned by *Proclamation*, and to take out their Pardons under Seal, as many as would. So that, more than the blood drawn in the Field, the King did ſatisfie himſelf with the lives of only three Offenders, for the expiation of this great *Rebellion*.

It was a ſtrange thing, to obſerve the variety and inequality of the King's *Executions* and *Pardons*. And a man would think it, at the firſt, a kind of *Lottery* or Chance. But, looking into it more nearly, one ſhall find there was reaſon for it, much more perhaps than (after ſo long a diſtance of time) we can now diſcern. In the *Kentiſh Commotion* (which was but an handful of men) there were executed to the number of one hundred and fifty; and, in this ſo mighty a *Rebellion*, but three: Whether it were, that the King put to accompt the men that were ſlain in the field; or that he was not willing to be ſevere in a popular cauſe; or that the harmleſs behaviour of this People (that came from the Weſt of *England*, to the Eaſt, without miſchief almoſt, or ſpoil of the Countrey) did ſomewhat mollifie him, and move him to compaſſion; or laſtly, that he made a great difference between People, that did rebel upon *Wantonneſs*, and them that did rebel upon *Want*.

After the *Corniſh-men* were defeated, there came from *Calice* to the King, an honourable Ambaſſage from the *French* King, which had arrived at *Calice* a Month before, and there was ſtayed in reſpect of the troubles; but honourably entertained and defrayed.

The King, at their firſt coming, ſent unto them, and prayed them to have patience, till a little *Smoak*, that was raiſed in his Countrey, were over; which would ſoon be: Slighting (as his manner was) that openly, which nevertheleſs he intended ſeriouſly.

This Ambaſſage concerned no great Affair; but only the *Prolongation* of Days for payment of Moneys, and ſome other Particulars of the *Frontiers*. And it was (indeed) but a wooing Ambaſſage; with good reſpects to entertain the King in good affection: but nothing was done, or handled, to the derogation of the King's late Treaty with the *Italians*.

But, during the time that the *Corniſh-men* were in their march towards *London*, the King of *Scotland* (well advertiſed of all that paſſed, and knowing himſelf ſure of *War* from *England*, whenſoever thoſe Stirs were appeaſed) neglected not his opportunity; But, thinking the King had his hands full, entred the Frontiers of *England* again with an Army, and beſieged the Caſtle of *Norham* in Perſon, with part of his Forces, ſending the reſt to forrage the Countrey. But *Fox*, Biſhop of *Dureſm* (a wiſe man, and one that could ſee through the *Preſent*, to the *Future*) doubting as much before, had cauſed his Caſtle of *Norham* to be ſtrongly fortified, and furniſhed, with all kind of *Munition*: And had manned it likewiſe, with a very great number of tall *Soldiers*, more than for the proportion of the Caſtle; reckoning rather upon a ſharp *Aſſault*, than a long *Siege*. And for the Countrey likewiſe, he had cauſed the people withdraw their Cattel and Goods into *Faſt Places*, that were not of eaſie approach; and ſent in poſt to the Earl of *Surrey* (who was not far off, in *Yorkſhire*) to come in diligence to the Succour. So as the *Scottiſh* King both failed of doing good upon the Caſtle, and his men had but a catching Harveſt of their Spoils. And when he underſtood, that the Earl of *Surrey* was coming on with great Forces, he returned back into *Scotland*. The Earl finding the Caſtle freed, and the Enemy retired, purſued with all celerity into *Scotland*; hoping to have overtaken the *Scottiſh* King, and to have given him Battel; But not attaining him in time, ſate down before the Caſtle of *Aton* (one of the ſtrongeſt places, then eſteemed, between *Berwick* and *Edenburgh*) which in a ſmall time he took. And ſoon after, the *Scottiſh* King retiring further into his Countrey, and the weather being extraordinary foul and ſtormy, the Earl returned into *England*. So that the *Expeditions* on both parts were (in effect) but a Caſtle taken, and a Caſtle diſtreſſed; not anſwerable to the puiſſance of the *Forces*, nor to the heat of the *Quarrel*, nor to the greatneſs of the *Expectation*.

Amongſt theſe *Troubles*, both Civil and External, came into *England* from *Spain Peter Hialas*, ſome call him *Elias*, (ſurely he was the fore-runner of the good *Hap*, that we enjoy at this day. For his Ambaſſage ſet the *Truce* between *England* and *Scotland*; the *Truce* drew on the *Peace*; the *Peace* the *Marriage*; and the *Marriage* the *Union* of the Kingdoms) a man of great Wiſdom, and (as thoſe times were) not unlearned; ſent from *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella* Kings of *Spain* unto the King, to treat a *Marriage* between

Catherine

Catherine their ſecond Daughter, and Prince *Arthur*. This *Treaty* was by him ſet in a very good way, and almoſt brought to perfection. But it ſo fell out by the way, that upon ſome *Conference* which he had with the King touching this buſineſs, the King (who had a great dexterity in getting ſuddenly into the boſom of Ambaſſadors of forein Princes, if he liked the men; Inſomuch as he would many times communicate with them of his own affairs; yea and employ them in his ſervice) fell into ſpeech and diſcourſe incidently, concerning the ending the *Debates* and differences with *Scotland*. For the King naturally did not love the barren Wars with *Scotland*, though he made his profit of the Noiſe of them. And he wanted not in the *Council* of *Scotland* thoſe that would adviſe their King to meet him at the half-way, and to give over the War with *England*; pretending to be good *Patriots*, but indeed favouring the affairs of the King. Only his heart was too great to begin with *Scotland* for the motion of Peace. On the other ſide, he had met with an Allie of *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*, as fit for his turn as could be. For after that King *Ferdinando* had, upon aſſured confidence of the *Marriage* to ſucceed, taken upon him the perſon of a Fraternal Allie to the King, he would not let (in a *Spaniſh* gravity) to counſel the King in his own affairs. And the King on his part not being wanting to himſelf, but making uſe of every man's humours, made his advantage of this in ſuch things as he thought either not decent, or not pleaſant to proceed from himſelf; putting them off, as done by the Counſel of *Ferdinando*. Wherefore he was content that *Hialas* (as in a matter moved and adviſed from *Hialas* himſelf) ſhould go into *Scotland*, to treat of a *Concord* between the two Kings. *Hialas* took it upon him: and coming to the *Scottiſh* King, after he had with much Art brought King *James* to hearken to the more ſafe and quiet Counſels, wrote unto the King, that he hoped that *Peace* would with no great difficulty cement and cloſe, if he would ſend ſome wiſe and temperate *Counſellor* of his own, that might treat of the *Conditions*. Whereupon the King directed Biſhop *Fox* (who at that time was at his Caſtle of *Norham*) to confer with *Hialas*, and they both to treat with ſome *Commiſſioners*, deputed from the *Scottiſh* King. The *Commiſſioners* on both ſides met. But after much diſpute upon the *Articles* and *Conditions* of *Peace*, propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a *Peace*. The chief *Impediments* thereof was the demand of the King, to have *Perkin* delivered into his hands, as a reproach to all Kings, and a perſon not protected by the *Law* of *Nations*. The King of *Scotland*, on the other ſide, peremptorily denied ſo to do; ſaying, That he (for his part) was no competent Judge of *Perkin*'s Title: But that he had received him as a *Suppliant*, protected him as a perſon fled for *Refuge*, eſpouſed him with his *Kinſwoman*, and aided him with his *Arms*, upon the belief that he was a *Prince*; And therefore that he could

not now with his Honour ſo unrip, and (in a ſort) put a *Lye* upon all that he had ſaid and done before, as to deliver him up to his Enemies. The Biſhop likewiſe (who had certain proud inſtructions from the King, at the leaſt in the *Front*, though there were a pliant clauſe at the *Foot*, that remitted all to the Biſhop's diſcretion, and required him by no means to break off in ill terms) after that he had failed to obtain the delivery of *Perkin*, did move a ſecond point of his *Inſtructions*; which was, that the *Scottiſh* King would give the King an *Enterview* in Perſon at *Newcaſtle*. But this being reported to the *Scottiſh* King, his anſwer was, *That he meant to treat a Peace, and not to go a begging for it.* The Biſhop alſo (according to another Article of his *Inſtructions*) demanded *Reſtitution* of the Spoils taken by the *Scottiſh*, or *Damages* for the ſame. But the *Scottiſh Commiſſioners* anſwered; *That that was but as Water ſpilt upon the ground, which could not be gotten up again; and that the King's People were better able to bear the loſs, than their Maſter to repair it.* But in the end (as perſons capable of Reaſon) on both ſides they made a kind of *Receſs*, than a *Breach of Treaty*, and concluded upon a *Truce* for ſome Months following. But the King of *Scotland*, though he would not formally retract his judgement of *Perkin*, wherein he had engaged himſelf ſo far; yet in his private opinion, upon often ſpeech with the *Engliſh-men*, and divers other advertiſements, began to ſuſpect him for a *Counterfeit*. Wherefore in a Noble faſhion he called him unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him, in making him his *Allie*, and in provoking a Mighty and Opulent King by an *Offenſive War* in his *Quarrel*, for the ſpace of two years together. Nay more; that he had refuſed an Honourable *Peace*, whereof he had a fair Offer, if he would have delivered him; and that to keep his promiſe with him, he had deeply offended both his *Nobles* and *People*, whom he might not hold in any long diſcontent. And therefore required him to think of his own *Fortunes*, and to chooſe out ſome fitter place for his *Exile*: Telling him withal, that he could not ſay, but the *Engliſh* had forſaken him before the *Scottiſh*, for that upon two ſeveral Tryals, none had declared themſelves on his ſide. But nevertheleſs he would make good what he ſaid to him at his firſt receiving, which was, *That he ſhould not repent him, for putting himſelf into his hands*; For that he would not caſt him off, but help him with Shipping and means, to tranſport him where he ſhould deſire. *Perkin*, not deſcending at all from his *Stage-like* Greatneſs, anſwered the King in few words; *That he ſaw his time was not yet come; But whatſoever his* Fortunes *were, he ſhould both think and ſpeak* Honour *of the King.* Taking his leave, he would not think on *Flanders*, doubting it was but hollow ground for him, ſince the *Treaty* of the Arch-Duke concluded the year before; but took his *Lady*, and ſuch followers as would not leave him, and ſailed over into *Ireland*.

This

This Twelfth year of the King, a little before this time, Pope *Alexander* (who loved beſt thoſe Princes that were furtheſt off, and with whom he had leaſt to do) taking very thankfully the King's late entrance into *League*, for the defence of *Italy*, did remunerate him with an *Hallowed Sword*, and *Cap-of-Maintenance* ſent by his *Nuncio*. Pope *Innocent* had done the like, but it was not received in that *Glory*. For the King appointed the *Mayor* and his *Brethren* to meet the Pope's *Orator* at *London-Bridge*, and all the Streets between the *Bridge-foot* and the Palace of St. *Pauls* (where the King then lay) were garniſhed with the Citizens, ſtanding in their *Liveries*. And the morrow after (being *All-hallows* day) the King, attended with many of his *Prelates*, *Nobles*, and principal *Courtiers*, went in *Proceſſion* to St. *Pauls*, and the *Cap* and *Sword* were born before him. And after the *Proceſſion*, the King himſelf remaining ſeated in the *Choir*, the Lord Archbiſhop upon the greece of the *Choir*, made a long *Oration*, ſetting forth the greatneſs and *Eminency* of that *Honour*, which the Pope (in theſe Ornaments and Enſigns of *Benediction*) had done the King, and how rarely, and upon what high deſerts they uſed to be beſtowed. And then recited the Kings principal *Acts* and *Merits*, which had made him appear worthy in the eyes of his Holineſs of this great *Honour*.

All this while the *Rebellion* of *Cornwal* (whereof we have ſpoken) ſeemed to have no relation to *Perkin*; ſave that perhaps *Perkin*'s *Proclamation* had ſtricken upon the right Vein, in promiſing to lay down *Exactions* and *Payments*, and ſo had made them now and then have a kind thought on *Perkin*. But now theſe *Bubbles* by much ſtirring began to meet, as they uſe to do upon the top of *Water*. The King's lenity (by that time the *Corniſh* Rebels, who were taken and pardoned, and (as it was ſaid) many of them ſold by them that had taken them, for twelve pence and two ſhillings a piece, were come down into their Countrey) had rather imboldened them, than reclaimed them: Inſomuch, as they ſtuck not to ſay to their Neighbours and Countrey-men, that *The King did well to pardon them, for that he knew he ſhould leave few Subjects in* England, *if he hanged all that were of their mind*: And began whetting and inciting one another to renew the *Commotion*. Some of the ſubtileſt of them, hearing of *Perkin*'s being in *Ireland*, found means to ſend to him, to let him know, that if he would come over to them, they would ſerve him.

When *Perkin* heard this News, he began to take heart again, and adviſed upon it with his *Council*, which were principally three; *Herne* a Mercer, that had fled for Debt; *Skelton* a Taylor, and *Aſtley* a Scrivener: for Secretary *Frion* was gone. Theſe told him, that he was mightily overſeen, both when he went into *Kent*, and when he went into *Scotland*. The one being a place ſo near *London*, and under the King's Noſe; and the other a Nation ſo diſtaſted with the People of *England*, that if they had loved him never

never ſo well, yet they could never have taken his part in that Company. But if he had been ſo happy, as to have been in *Cornwal* at the firſt, when the People began to take *Arms* there, he had been crowned at *Weſtminſter* before this time. For, theſe Kings (as he had now experience) would ſell poor *Princes* for ſhooes: But he muſt rely wholly upon *People*; and therefore adviſed him to ſail over with all poſſible ſpeed into *Cornwal*. Which, accordingly he did; having in his Company four ſmall *Barques*, with ſome ſix ſcore or ſeven ſcore fighting men. He arrived in *September* at *Whitſand-Bay*; and forthwith came to *Bodmin*, the *Black-ſmith*'s Town: Where there aſſembled unto him to the number of three thouſand men of the rude People. There he ſet forth a new *Proclamation*, ſtroaking the People with fair Promiſes, and humouring them with *Invectives* againſt the King and his *Government*. And, as it fareth with *Smoak*, that never loſeth it ſelf till it be at the higheſt; he did now before his end raiſe his Stile, intituling himſelf no more *Richard*, Duke of *York*; but *Richard* the Fourth, King of *England*. His *Council* adviſed him, by all means, to make himſelf *Maſter* of ſome good walled *Town*; as well to make his Men find the ſweetneſs of rich *Spoils*, and to allure to him all looſe and loſt *People*, by like hopes of *Booty*; as to be a ſure *Retrait* to his *Forces*, in caſe they ſhould have any ill *Day*, or unlucky *Chance* in the *Field*. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on, and beſieged the City of *Exceter*, the principal *Town* for Strength and Wealth in thoſe Parts.

When they were come before *Exceter*, they forbare to uſe any Force at the firſt; but made continual *Shouts* and *Out-cries*, to terrifie the *Inhabitants*. They did likewiſe in divers places call and talk to them from under the Walls, to joyn with them, and be of their *Party*; telling them, that the King would make them another *London*, if they would be the firſt *Town* that ſhould acknowledge him. But they had not the wit to ſend to them, in any orderly faſhion, *Agents*, or *choſen Men*, to tempt them, and to treat with them. The Citizens on their part ſhewed themſelves ſtout and loyal Subjects. Neither was there ſo much as any *Tumult* or *Diviſion* amongſt them: but all prepared themſelves for a valiant *Defence*, and making good the *Town*. For, well they ſaw, that the *Rebels* were of no ſuch Number or Power, that they needed to fear them as yet: and well they hoped, that before their *Numbers* increaſed, the King's *Succours* would come-in. And, howſoever, they thought it the extremeſt of Evils, to put themſelves at the mercy of thoſe hungry and diſorderly People. Wherefore, ſetting all things in good order within the *Town*, they nevertheleſs let down with Cords, from ſeveral parts of the Walls privily, ſeveral *Meſſengers* (that, if one came to miſchance, another might paſs-on) which ſhould advertiſe the King of the State of the *Town*, and implore his ayd. *Perkin* alſo doubted, that Succours would

would come ere long; and therefore reſolved to uſe his utmoſt Force to aſſault the *Town:* And for that purpoſe, having mounted *Scaling-Ladders* in divers places upon the Walls, made at the ſame inſtant an *Attempt* to force one of the *Gates.* But, having no *Artillery* nor *Engins*, and finding that he could do no good by ramming with Logs of *Timber*, nor by the uſe of Iron *Bars* and Iron *Crows*, and ſuch other means at hand, he had no way left him, but to ſet one of the *Gates* on fire: which he did. But the Citizens, well perceiving the Danger, before the *Gate* could be fully conſumed, blocked up the *Gate*, and ſome ſpace about it on the inſide, with Fagots and other Fuel: which they likewiſe ſet on fire, and ſo repulſed fire with fire; And, in the mean time, raiſed up *Rampiers* of earth, and caſt up deep *Trenches*, to ſerve inſtead of *Wall* and *Gate.* And for the *Eſcalada's*, they had ſo bad ſucceſs, as the *Rebels* were driven from the *Walls*, with the loſs of two hundred men.

The King, when he heard of *Perkin*'s Siege of *Exceter*, made ſport with it, and ſaid to them that were about him, that *The King of Rake-hells was landed in the Weſt, and that he hoped now to have the honour to ſee him, which he could never yet do.* And it appeared plainly to thoſe that were about the King, that he was indeed much joyed with the News of *Perkin*'s being on *Engliſh* ground, where he could have no retreat by Land; thinking now, that he ſhould be cured of thoſe privy *Stitches*, which he had long had about his *Heart*, and had ſometimes broken his *Sleeps* in the midſt of all his felicity. And, to ſet all mens hearts on fire, he did by all poſſible means let it appear, that thoſe, who ſhould now do him ſervice to make an end of theſe troubles, ſhould be no leſs accepted of him, than he that came upon the *Eleventh Hour*, and had the whole *Wages* of the *Day.* Therefore now (like the end of a *Play*) a great number came upon the *Stage* at once. He ſent the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord *Brook*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with expedite Forces to ſpeed to *Exceter*, to the Reſcue of the Town, and to ſpread the Fame of his own following in Perſon with a *Royal Army.* The Earl of *Devonſhire*, and his Son, with the *Carues*, and the *Fulfords*, and other principal Perſons of *Devonſhire* (uncalled from the *Court*, but hearing that the King's heart was ſo much bent upon this Service) made haſte with *Troops*, that they had raiſed, to be the firſt that ſhould ſuccour the City of *Exceter*, and prevent the King's Succours. The Duke of *Buckingham* likewiſe, with many brave Gentlemen, put themſelves in *Arms*, not ſtaying either the King's, or the Lord Chamberlain's coming on, but making a Body of Forces of themſelves, the more to indear their merit, ſignifying to the King their readineſs, and deſiring to know his pleaſure. So that according to the Proverb, *In the coming down, every Saint did help.*

Perkin, hearing this Thunder of *Arms*, and Preparations againſt him from ſo many Parts, raiſed his Siege, and marched to

to *Taunton*; beginning already to ſquint one eye upon the *Crown*, and another upon the *Sanctuary*: Though the *Corniſh-men* were become, like Metal often fired and quenched, churliſh, and that would ſooner break than bow; ſwearing and vowing not to leave him, till the uttermoſt drop of their blood were ſpilt. He was at his riſing from *Exceter* between ſix and ſeven thouſand ſtrong, many having come unto him, after he was ſet before *Exceter*, upon fame of ſo great an Enterprize, and to partake of the Spoil; though upon the raiſing of his *Siege*, ſome did ſlip away. When he was come near *Taunton*, he diſſembled all fear, and ſeemed all the day to uſe diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about midnight, he fled with threeſcore Horſe to *Bewley* in the *New-Foreſt*, where he and divers of his Company regiſtred themſelves *Sanctuary-men*, leaving his *Corniſh-men* to the *Four Winds*; But yet thereby eaſing them of their *Vow*, and uſing his wonted Compaſſion, *Not to be by when his Subjects blood ſhould be ſpilt.* The King, as ſoon as he heard of *Perkin*'s Flight, ſent preſently five hundred Horſe to purſue and apprehend him, before he ſhould get either to the *Sea*, or to that ſame little *Iſland*, called a *Sanctuary*. But they came too late for the latter of theſe. Therefore all they could do, was to beſet the *Sanctuary*, and to maintain a ſtrong *Watch* about it, till the King's pleaſure were further known. As for the reſt of the *Rebels*, they (being deſtituted of their head) without ſtroke ſtricken, ſubmitted themſelves unto the King's Mercy. And the King, who commonly drew Blood (as *Phyſicians* do) rather to ſave life, than to ſpill it, and was never *Cruel*, when he was *Secure*; now he ſaw the danger was paſt, pardoned them all in the end, except ſome few deſperate perſons which he reſerved to be Executed, the better to ſet off his Mercy towards the reſt. There were alſo ſent with all ſpeed ſome Horſe to St. *Michael*'s-Mount in *Cornwal*, where the Lady *Catherine Gordon* was left by her Huſband, whom in all fortunes ſhe entirely loved; adding the virtues of a *Wife*, to the virtues of her *Sex*. The King ſent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether ſhe might be with Child; whereby the buſineſs would not have ended in *Perkin*'s perſon. When ſhe was brought to the King, it was commonly ſaid, that the King received her not only with *Compaſſion*, but with *Affection*; *Pity* giving more *Impreſſion* to her excellent *Beauty*. Wherefore comforting her (to ſerve as well his *Eye* as his *Fame*) he ſent her to his Queen, to remain with her; giving her very honourable *Allowance* for the ſuport of her Eſtate: which ſhe enjoyed both during the King's life, and many years after. The name of the *White-Roſe* (which had been given to her Husband's *Falſe-Title*) was continued in common ſpeech to her true *Beauty*.

The King went forward on his Journey, and made a joyful entrance into *Exceter*, where he gave the Citizens great commendations and thanks; and taking the *Sword* he wore, from his ſide,

ſide, he gave it to the *Mayor*, and commanded it ſhould be ever after carried before him. There alſo he cauſed to be executed ſome of the *Ring-leaders* of the *Corniſh-men*, in ſacrifice to the Citizens, whom they had put in fear, and trouble. At *Exceter* the King conſulted with his *Council*, whether he ſhould offer life to *Perkin*, if he would quit the *Sanctuary*, and voluntarily ſubmit himſelf. The *Council* were divided in opinion. Some adviſed the King to take him out of *Sanctuary* per-force, and to put him to death, as in a caſe of *Neceſſity*, which in it ſelf diſpenſeth with *Conſecrated Places* and things. Wherein they doubted not alſo, but the King ſhould find the Pope tractable to ratifie his *Deed*, either by *Declaration*, or (at leaſt) by *Indulgence*. Others were of opinion (ſince all was now ſafe, and no further hurt could be done) that it was not worth the expoſing of the King to new *Scandal* and *Envy*. A third ſort fell upon the opinion that it was not poſſible for the King ever, either to ſatisfie the World well touching the *Impoſture*, or to learn out the bottom of the *Conſpiracy*, except by promiſe of *Life* and *Pardon*, and other fair means, he ſhould get *Perkin* into his hands. But they did all in their *Preambles* much bemoan the King's Caſe, with a kind of *Indignation* at his *Fortune*; That a *Prince* of his high *Wiſdom* and *Virtue*, ſhould have been ſo long, and ſo oft exerciſed and vexed with *Idols*. But the King ſaid; that it was the *Vexation* of God Almighty himſelf, to be vexed with *Idols*, and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his Friends. And that for himſelf, he always deſpiſed them; but was grieved that they had put his *People* to ſuch trouble and miſery. But (in Concuſion) he leaned to the third opinion, and ſo ſent ſome to deal with *Perkin*. Who ſeeing himſelf Priſoner, and deſtitute of all hopes, having tryed *Princes* and *People*, Great and Small, and found all either falſe, faint or unfortunate, did gladly accept of the Condition. The King did alſo (while he was at *Exceter*) appoint the Lord *Darcy*, and others, *Commiſſioners*, for the fining of all ſuch, as were of any value, or had any hand or partaking in the ayd or comfort of *Perkin* or the *Corniſh-men*, either in the *Field* or in the *Flight*.

Theſe *Commiſſioners* proceeded with ſuch ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, as did much obſcure the King's mercy in ſparing of Blood, with the bleeding of ſo much Treaſure. *Perkin* was brought unto the King's Court, but not to the King's preſence; though the King (to ſatisfie his *Curioſity*) ſaw him ſometimes out of a window, or in paſſage. He was in ſhew at liberty, but guarded with all care and watch that was poſſible, and willed to follow the King to *London*. But from his firſt appearance upon the *Stage*, in his new perſon of a *Sycophant* or *Jugler*, inſtead of his former perſon of a *Prince*, all men may think how he was expoſed to the deriſion, not only of the *Courtiers*, but alſo of the *Common-People* who flocked about him as he went along; that one might know a-far-off, where the *Owl* was by the *Flight* of *Birds*. Some mocking, ſome wondering, ſome

curſing, ſome prying and picking matter out of his Countenance and Geſture, to talk of. So that the falſe *Honour* and *Reſpects* which he had ſo long enjoyed, was plentifully repayed in *Scorn* and *Contempt*. As ſoon as he was come to *London*, the King gave alſo the City the ſolace of this *May-Game*. For he was conveyed leiſurely on Horſe-back (but not in any ignominious faſhion) through *Cheapſide*, and *Cornhill*, to the *Tower*; and from thence back again unto *Weſtminſter*, with the *Churm* of a thouſand taunts and reproaches. But to amend the *Show*, there followed a little diſtance of *Perkin*, an inward *Counſellor* of his, one that had been *Serjeant-Farrier* to the King. This Fellow when *Perkin* took *Sanctuary*, choſe rather to take an *Holy Habit* than an *Holy Place*, and clad himſelf like an *Hermit*, and in that weed wandred about the Countrey, till he was diſcovered, and taken. But this Man was bound hand and foot upon the Horſe, and came not back with *Perkin*, but was left at the *Tower*, and within few days after Executed. Soon after, now that *Perkin* could tell better what himſelf was, he was diligently examined; and after his *Confeſſion* taken, an *Extract* was made of ſuch parts of them as were thought fit to be divulged, which was Printed and diſperſed abroad. Wherein the King did himſelf no Right. For as there was a laboured *Tale* of particulars, of *Perkin*'s *Father*, and *Mother*, and *Grandſire*, and *Grandmother*, and *Uncles*, and *Couſins*, by *Names* and *Sirnames*, and from what places he travelled up and down; ſo there was little or nothing to purpoſe of any thing concerning his *Deſigns*, or any *Practices* that had been held with him; nor the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* her ſelf (that all the World did take knowledge of, as the *Perſon* that had put *Life* and *Being* into the whole *Buſineß*) ſo much as named or pointed at. So that men miſſing of that they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before. But the King choſe rather not to ſatisfie, than to kindle *Coals*. At that time alſo it did not appear by any new *Examinations* or *Commitments*, that any other Perſon of quality was diſcovered or appeached, though the King's cloſeneſs made that a *Doubt-Dormant*.

About this time, a great *Fire* in the night time ſuddenly began at the King's *Palace* of *Sheyn*, near unto the King's own Lodgings, whereby a great part of the building was conſumed, with much coſtly Houſhold-ſtuff; which gave the King occaſion of Building from the ground that fine *Pile* of *Richmond*, which is now ſtanding.

Somewhat before this time alſo, there fell out a memorable Accident. There was one *Sebaſtian Gabato*, a *Venetian*, dwelling in *Briſtow*, a man ſeen and expert in *Coſmography* and *Navigation*. This man ſeeing the ſucceſs, and emulating perhaps the enterprize of *Chriſtopherus Columbus* in that fortunate diſcovery towards the *South-weſt*, which had been by him made ſome ſix years before; conceited with himſelf, that *Lands* might likewiſe be diſcovered towards

towards the *North-weſt*. And ſurely it may be he had more firm and pregnant Conjectures of it, than *Columbus* had of this at the firſt. For the two great *Iſlands* of the *Old* and *New World*, being (in the ſhape and making of them) broad towards the *North*, and pointed towards the *South*; it is likely, that the diſcovery firſt began where the *Lands* did neareſt meet. And there had been before that time a diſcovery of ſome *Lands*, which they took to be *Iſlands*, and were indeed the *Continent of America*, towards the *North-weſt*. And it may be, that ſome Relation of this nature coming afterwards to the knowledge of *Columbus*, and by him ſuppreſſed, (deſirous rather to make his Enterprize the *Child* of his *Science* and *Fortune*, than the *Follower* of a former *Diſcovery*) did give him better aſſurance that all was not *Sea*, from the *Weſt* of *Europe* and *Africk* unto *Aſia*, than either *Seneca*'s Propheſie, or *Plato*'s Antiquities, or the Nature of the *Tides*, and *Land-winds*, and the like, which were the *Conjectures* that were given out, whereupon he ſhould have relyed. Though I am not ignorant, that it was likewiſe laid unto the caſual and *wind-beaten Diſcovery* (a little before) of a *Spaniſh* Pilot, who dyed in the houſe of *Columbus*. But this *Gabato* bearing the King in hand, that he would find out an *Iſland* endued with rich Commodities, procured him to man and victual a Ship at *Briſtow*, for the diſcovery of that *Iſland*; With whom ventured alſo three ſmall Ships of *London-Merchants*, fraught with ſome groſs and ſleight Wares, fit for Commerce with barbarous people. He ſayled (as he affirmed at his return, and made a *Card* thereof) very far *Weſtwards*, with a *Quarter* of the *North*, on the *North-ſide* of *Tierra de Labrador*, until he came to the *Latitude* of ſixty ſeven Degrees and an half, finding the *Seas* ſtill open. It is certain alſo, that the King's *Fortune* had a tender of that great *Empire* of the *Weſt-Indies*. Neither was it a *Refuſal* on the King's part, but a *Delay* by accident, that put by ſo great an *Acqueſt*. For *Chriſtopherus Columbus* refuſed by the King of *Portugal* (who would not embrace at once both *Eaſt* and *Weſt*) employed his Brother *Bartholomæus Columbus* unto King *Henry*, to negotiate for his Diſcovery. And it ſo fortuned, that he was taken by *Pirates* at *Sea*, by which accidental impediment he was long ere he came to the King. So long, that before he had obtained a Capitulation with the King for his Brother; the Enterprize by him was atchieved, and ſo the *Weſt-Indies* by *Providence* were then reſerved for the *Crown* of *Caſtilia*. Yet this ſharpened the King ſo, that not only in this Voyage, but again in the Sixteenth year of his Reign, and likewiſe in the Eighteenth thereof, he granted forth new *Commiſſions*, for the *Diſcovery* and inveſting of unknown *Lands*.

In this Fourteenth year alſo (by God's wonderful providence, that boweth things unto his will, and hangeth great *Weights* upon ſmall *Wires*) there fell out a trifling and untoward Accident,

that drew on great and happy effects. During the Truce with *Scotland*, there were certain *Scottiſh young Gentleman*, that came into *Norham* Town, and there made merry with ſome of the *Engliſh* of the *Town*. And having little to do, went ſometimes forth, and would ſtand looking upon the *Caſtle*. Some of the *Garriſon* of the *Caſtle*, obſerving this their doing twice or thrice, and having not their minds purged of the late ill blood of *Hoſtility*, either ſuſpected them, or quarrelled them for *Spies*. Whereupon they fell at ill *Words*, and from *Words* to *Blows*; ſo that many were wounded of either ſide, and the *Scottiſh-men* (being ſtrangers in the *Town*) had the worſt. In ſo much as ſome of them were ſlain, and the reſt made haſte home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the *Wardens* of the *Marches* of both ſides, and no good order taken, the King of *Scotland* took it to himſelf, and being much kindled, ſent a *Herald* to the King to make Proteſtation, That if Reparation were not done, according to the Conditions of the *Truce*, his King did denounce *War*. The King (who had often tryed *Fortune*, and was inclined to *Peace*) made anſwer; That what had been done, was utterly againſt his will, and without his *Privity*. But if the *Garriſon-Soulaiers* had been in fault, he would ſee them puniſhed, and the *Truce* in all points to be preſerved. But this anſwer ſeemed to the *Scottiſh* King but a delay, to make the complaint breathe out with time; and therefore it did rather exaſperate him, than ſatisfie him. Biſhop *Fox*, underſtanding from the King, that the *Scottiſh* King was ſtill diſcontent and impatient, being troubled that the occaſion of breaking of the *Truce* ſhould grow from his men, ſent many humble and deprecatory Letters to the *Scottiſh* King to appeaſe him. Whereupon King *James*, mollified by the Biſhop's ſubmiſs and eloquent Letters, wrote back unto him; That though he were in part moved by his *Letters*, yet he ſhould not be fully ſatisfied, except he ſpake with him; as well about the compounding of the preſent differences, as about other matters that might concern the good of both Kingdoms. The Biſhop adviſing firſt with the King, took his Journey for *Scotland*. The meeting was at *Melroſs*, an Abbey of the *Ceſtercians*, where the King then abode. The King firſt roundly uttered unto the Biſhop his offence conceived for the inſolent Breach of *Truce*, by his men of *Norham* Caſtle. Whereunto Biſhop *Fox* made ſuch an humble and ſmooth anſwer, as it was like *Oyl* into the *wound*, whereby it began to heal. And this was done in the preſence of the King and his *Council*. After, the King ſpake with the Biſhop apart, and opened himſelf unto him, ſaying, That theſe temporary *Truces* and *Peaces* were ſoon made, and ſoon broken: But that he deſired a ſtraiter Amity with the King of *England*, diſcovering his mind; that if the King would give him in Marriage, the Lady *Margaret*, his eldeſt Daughter, That indeed might be a *Knot* indiſſoluble. That he knew well what Place

and

and Authority the Biſhop deſervedly had with his Maſter. Therefore, if he would take the buſineſs to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would ſucceed well. The Biſhop anſwered ſoberly, that he thought himſelf rather happy, than worthy, to be an inſtrument in ſuch a matter; but would do his beſt endeavour. Wherefore the Biſhop returning to the King, and giving account what had paſſed, and finding the King more than well diſpoſed in it, gave the King advice; firſt to proceed to a Concluſion of *Peace*, and then to go on with the Treaty of *Marriage*, by degrees. Hereupon a *Peace* was concluded, which was publiſhed a little before *Chriſtmas* in the Fourteenth year of the King's Reign to continue for both the Kings lives, and the overliver of them, and a year after. In this *Peace* there was an *Article* contained, that no *Engliſh-man* ſhould enter into *Scotland*, and no *Scottiſh-man* into *England*, without Letters Commendatory from the Kings of either *Nation*. This at the firſt ſight might ſeem a means to continue a ſtrangeneſs between the *Nations*; but it was done, to lock in the *Borderers*.

This year there was alſo born to the King a third *Son*, who was chriſtned by the name of *Edmund*, and ſhortly after dyed. And much about the ſame time came news of the death of *Charles* the *French* King; For whom there were celebrated Solemn and Princely *Obſequies*.

It was not long, but *Perkin* (who was made of *Quick-ſilver*, which is hard to hold or impriſon) began to ſtir. For deceiving his *Keepers*, he took him to his heels, and made ſpeed to the *Sea-coaſts*. But preſently all Corners were laid for him, and ſuch diligent purſuit and ſearch made, as he was fain to turn back, and get him to the houſe of *Bethleem*, called the *Priory* of *Shyne*, (which had the privilege of a *Sanctuary*) and put himſelf into the hands of the *Prior* of that *Monaſtery*. The *Prior* was thought an *Holy Man*, and much reverenced in thoſe days. He came to the King, and beſought the King for *Perkin*'s life only, leaving him otherwiſe to the Kings diſcretion. Many about the King were again more hot than ever, to have the King take him forth, and hang him. But the King (that had an high ſtomach, and could not hate any that he deſpiſed) bid, *Take him forth, and ſet the Knave in the Stocks*. And ſo promiſing the *Prior* his life, he cauſed him to be brought forth. And within two or three days after, upon a *Scaffold*, ſet up in the *Palace-Court* at *Weſtminſter*, he was ſeated and ſet in the *Stocks*, for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the *Croſs* in *Cheapſide*. And in both places he read his *Confeſſion*, of which we made mention before; and was from *Cheapſide* conveyed and laid up in the *Tower*. Notwithſtanding all this, the King was (as we partly touched before) grown to be ſuch a *Partner* with *Fortune*, as no body could tell what *Actions* the *one*, and what the *other* owned. For it was believed

believed generally that *Perkin* was betrayed, and that this Eſcape was not without the King's privity, who had him all the time of his Flight in a Line; and that the King did this, to pick a Quarrel to him to put him to death, and to be rid of him at once. But this is not probable. For that the ſame *Inſtruments* who obſerved him in his *Flight*, might have kept him from getting into *Sanctuary*.

But it was ordained, that this *Winding-Ivy* of a *Plantagenet*, ſhould kill the true *Tree* it ſelf. For *Perkin*, after he had been a while in the *Tower*, began to inſinuate himſelf into the favour and kindneſs of his *Keepers*, Servants to the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, Sir *John Digby*, being four in number; *Strangways*, *Blewet*, *Aſtwood*, and *Long-Roger*. Theſe Varlets, with mountains of *promiſes*, he ſought to corrupt, to obtain his *Eſcape*. But knowing well, that his own *Fortunes* were made ſo contemptible, as he could feed no man's *Hopes* (and by *Hopes* he muſt work, for *Rewards* he had none) he had contrived with himſelf a vaſt and tragical Plot; which was, to draw into his Company *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, then Priſoner in the *Tower*; whom the weary life of a long *Impriſonment*, and the often and renewing Fears of being put to *Death*, had ſoftned to take any impreſſion of counſel for his *Liberty*. This young *Prince* he thought theſe Servants would look upon, though not upon himſelf. And therefore after that by ſome *Meſſage* by one or two of them, he had taſted of the Earl's conſent; it was agreed that theſe four ſhould murder their *Maſter* the *Lieutenant*, ſecretly in the night, and make their beſt of ſuch Money and portable Goods of his, as they ſhould find ready at hand, and get the Keys of the *Tower*, and preſently let forth *Perkin* and the Earl. But this *Conſpiracy* was revealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the Opinion of the King's great *Wiſdom* did ſurcharge him with a ſiniſter Fame, that *Perkin* was but his *Bait*, to entrap the Earl of *Warwick*. And in the very inſtant while this *Conſpiracy* was in working (as if that alſo had been the King's induſtry) it was fatal, that there ſhould break forth a counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, a *Cordwainer*'s Son, whoſe name was *Ralph Wilford*; a young man, taught and ſet on by an *Auguſtin* Frier, called *Patrick*. They both from the parts of *Suffolk*, came forwards into *Kent*, where they did not only privily and underhand give out, that this *Wilford* was the true Earl of *Warwick*; but alſo the Frier finding ſome light Credence in the People, took the boldneſs in the *Pulpit* to declare as much, and to incite the People to come in to his ayd. Whereupon they were both preſently apprehended, and the young fellow executed, and the Frier condemned to perpetual *Impriſonment*. This alſo happning ſo opportunely, to repreſent the danger to the King's Eſtate, from the Earl of *Warwick*, and thereby to colour the King's ſeverity that followed; together with the madneſs of the Frier, ſo vainly and

and deſperately to divulge a *Treaſon*, before it had gotten any manner of ſtrength; and the ſaving of the Frier's life, which nevertheleſs was (indeed) but the priviledge of his *Order*; and the *Pity* in the common People (which if it run in a ſtrong Stream, doth ever caſt up *Scandal* and *Envy*) made it generally rather talked, than believed, that all was but the King's device. But howſoever it were, hereupon *Perkin* (that had offended againſt Grace now the third time) was at the laſt proceeded with, and by *Commiſſioners* of *Oyer* and *Determiner*, arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, upon divers *Treaſons* committed and perpetrated after his coming on land within this Kingdom (for ſo the *Judges* adviſed, for that he was a *Foreiner*) and condemned, and a few days after executed at *Tyburn*. Where he did again openly read his *Confeſſion*, and take it upon his *Death* to be true. This was the end of this little *Cockatrice* of a King, that was able to deſtroy thoſe that did not eſpy him firſt. It was one of the longeſt *Plays* of that kind, that hath been in memory; and might perhaps have had another end, if he had not met with a King both wiſe, ſtout and fortunate.

As for *Perkin*'s three *Counſellors*, they had regiſtred themſelves *Sanctuary-men* when their *Maſter* did. And whether upon Pardon obtained, or continuance within the *Priviledge*, they came not to be proceeded with.

There was executed with *Perkin* the *Mayor* of *Cork*, and his Son, who had been principal Abettors of his *Treaſons*. And ſoon after were likewiſe condemned eight other Perſons, about the *Tower-Conſpiracy*, whereof four were the *Lieutenant*'s men. But of thoſe eight but two were executed. And immediately after was arraigned before the Earl of *Oxford* (then for the time *High-Steward of England*) the poor *Prince* the Earl of *Warwick*; not for the *Attempt* to eſcape ſimply (for that was not acted; And beſides, the *Impriſonment* not being for Treaſon, the *Eſcape* by Law could not be Treaſon) but for conſpiring with *Perkin* to raiſe ſedition, and to deſtroy the King. And the Earl confeſſing the *Indictment* had *Judgment*, and was ſhortly after beheaded on *Tower-hill*.

This was alſo the end not only of this Noble and Commiſerable perſon *Edward* the Earl of *Warwick*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Clarence*, but likewiſe of the Line-Male of the *Plantagenets*, which had flouriſhed in great Royalty and Renown, from the time of the famous King of *England* King *Henry* the Second. Howbeit it was a *Race* often dipped in their own *Blood*. It hath remained ſince only tranſplanted into other *Names*, as well of the *Imperial-Line*, as of other *Noble Houſes*. But it was neither guilt of *Crime*, nor reaſon of *Eſtate*, that could quench the *Envy* that was upon the King for this *Execution*. So that he thought good to export it out of the Land, and to lay it upon his new Allie *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*. For theſe two Kings underſtanding one another at half a word, ſo it was, that there were Letters ſhewed out of *Spain*, whereby

whereby in the paſſages concerning the Treaty of the *Marriage*, *Ferdinando* had written to the King in plain terms, that he ſaw no aſſurance of his *Succeſſion*, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived; and that he was loth to ſend his *Daughter* to Troubles and Dangers. But hereby, as the King did in ſome part remove the Envy from himſelf; ſo he did not obſerve, that he did withal bring a kind of *Malediction* and Infauſting upon the *Marriage*, as an ill *Prognoſtick*. Which in event ſo far proved true, as both Prince *Arthur* enjoyed a very ſmall time after the *Marriage*, and the Lady *Katherine*, her ſelf (a ſad and a religious woman) long after, when King *Henry* the Eighth his reſolution of a *Divorce* from her was firſt made known to her, uſed ſome words; *That ſhe had not offended: but it was a Judgment of God, for that her former Marriage was made in blood*; meaning that of the Earl of *Warwick*.

This Fifteenth year of the King there was a great *Plague*, both in *London*, and in divers parts of the Kingdom. Wherefore the King after often change of *Places* (whether to avoid the danger of the *Sickneſs*, or to give occaſion of an *Enterview* with the Arch-Duke, or both) ſayled over with his Queen to *Calice*. Upon his coming thither, the Arch-Duke ſent an honourable Ambaſſage unto him, as well to welcom him into thoſe parts, as to let him know, that (if it pleaſed him) he would come and do him reverence. But it was ſaid withal; That the King might be pleaſed to appoint ſome place, that were out of any *Walled Town* or Fortreſs, for that he had denied the ſame upon like occaſion to the *French* King. And though he ſaid, he made a great difference between the two Kings, yet he would be loth to give a *Preſident*, that might make it after to be expected at his hands, by another whom he truſted leſs. The King accepted of the Courteſie, and admitted of his Excuſe, and appointed the place to be at St. *Peter*'s Church without *Calice*. But withal he did viſit the Arch-Duke with Ambaſſadors ſent from himſelf, which were the Lord *Saint-John*, and the *Secretary*; unto whom the Arch-Duke did the honour, as (going to Maſs at St. *Omers*) to ſet the Lord *Saint-John* on his right hand, and the *Secretary* on his left, and ſo to ride between them to Church. The day appointed for the *Enterview*, the King went on Horſe-back ſome diſtance from St. *Peter*'s Church, to receive the Arch-Duke. And upon their approaching, the Arch-Duke made haſt to light, and offered to hold the King's *Stirrop* at his alighting; which the King would not permit, but deſcending from Horſe-back, they embraced with great affection, and withdrawing into the Church to a place prepared, they had long *Conference*, not only upon the Confirmation of former *Treaties*, and the freeing of *Commerce*, but upon Croſs *Marriages*, to be had between the Duke of *York* the King's ſecond Son, and the Arch-Duke's Daughter, And again between *Charles* the Arch-Dukes Son and Heir, and *Mary* the King's ſecond Daughter. But

theſe

theſe *Bloſſoms* of unripe *Marriages*, were but friendly wiſhes, and the *Airs* of loving *Entertainment*; though one of them came afterwards to Concluſion in *Treaty*, though not in *Effect*. But during the time that the two *Princes* converſed and commoned together in the Suburbs of *Calice*, the Demonſtrations on both ſides were paſſing hearty and affectionate, eſpecially on the part of the Arch-Duke. Who (beſides that he was a Prince of an excellent good nature) being conſcious to himſelf, how drily the King had been uſed by his *Council* in the matter of *Perkin*, did ſtrive by all means to recover it in the King's affection. And having alſo his ears continually beaten with the Counſels of his *Father* and *Father-in-law*, who (in reſpect of their jealous hatred againſt the *French* King) did always adviſe the Arch-Duke to anchor himſelf upon the Amity of King *Henry* of *England*; was glad upon this occaſion, to put in ure and practice their precepts, calling the King *Patron*, and *Father*, and *Protector*, (theſe very words the King repeats; when he certified of the loving behaviour of the Arch-Duke to the City) and what elſe he could deviſe, to expreſs his love and obſervance to the King. There came alſo to the King the Governour of *Picardy*, and the Bailiff of *Amiens*, ſent from *Lewis* the *French* King to do him honour, and to give him knowledge of his victory and winning of the Duchy of *Millan*. It ſeemeth the King was well pleaſed with the honours he received from thoſe parts, while he was at *Calice*. For he did himſelf certifie all the News and Occurrents of them in every particular, from *Calice*, to the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* of *London*, which (no doubt) made no ſmall talk in the City. For the King, though he could not entertain the good will of the *Citizens*, as *Edward* the Fourth did; yet by affability and other Princely Graces, did ever make very much of them, and apply himſelf to them.

This year alſo dyed *John Morton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Chancellor of *England*, and Cardinal. He was a wiſe man, and an eloquent, but in his nature harſh, and haughty; much accepted by the King, but envied by the *Nobility*, and hated of the *People*. Neither was his name left out of *Perkin*'s Proclamation for any good will, but they would not bring him in amongſt the King's *Caſting-Counters*, becauſe he had the *Image* and *Superſcription* upon him of the Pope, in his *Honour* of Cardinal. He wan the King with *Secrecy* and *Diligence*, but chiefly becauſe he was his old Servant in his leſs *Fortunes:* And alſo for that (in his affections) he was not without an inveterate malice againſt the Houſe of *York*, under whom he had been in trouble. He was willing alſo to take *Envy* from the King, more than the King was willing to put upon him. For the King cared not for *Subterfuges*, but would ſtand *Envy*, and appear in any thing that was to his mind; which made *Envy* ſtill grow upon him more univerſal, but leſs daring. But in the matter of Exactions, time did after ſhew, that the Biſhop in

feeding the King's humour, did rather temper it. He had been by *Richard* the Third committed (as in cuſtody) to the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom he did ſecretly incite to revolt from King *Richard*. But after the Duke was engaged, and thought the Biſhop ſhould have been his chief *Pilot* in the *Tempeſt*, the Biſhop was gotten into the *Cock-boat*, and fled over beyond *Seas*. But whatſoever elſe was in the Man, he deſerveth a moſt happy Memory, in that he was the principal *Mean* of joyning the two *Roſes*. He dyed of great years, but of ſtrong health and *Powers*.

The next year, which was the Sixteenth year of the King, and the year of our *Lord* One thouſand five hundred, was the year of *Jubile* at *Rome*. But Pope *Alexander*, to ſave the Hazard and Charges of mens Journeys to *Rome*, thought good to make over thoſe *Graces* by exchange, to ſuch as would pay a convenient *Rate*, ſeeing they could not come to fetch them. For which purpoſe was ſent into *England Jaſper Pons*, a *Spaniard*, the Pope's *Commiſſioner*, better choſen than were the *Commiſſioners* of Pope *Leo*, afterwards employed for *Germany*; for he carried the Buſineſs with great wiſdom, and ſemblance of *Holineſs*. In ſo much as he levied great ſumms of Money within this Land to the Pope's uſe, with little or no *Scandal*. It was thought the King ſhared in the Money. But it appeareth by a Letter which Cardinal *Adrian*, the King's *Penſioner*, wrote to the King from *Rome* ſome few years after, that this was not ſo. For this Cardinal, being to perſwade Pope *Julius* on the King's behalf, to expedite the *Bull* of *Diſpenſation* for the *Marriage* between Prince *Henry* and the Lady *Katherine*, finding the Pope difficil in granting thereof, doth uſe it as a principal Argument concerning the King's merit toward that *See*, that he had touched none of thoſe *Deniers*, which had been levied by *Pons* in *England*. But that it might the better appear (for the ſatisfaction of the Common people) that this was *Conſecrate Money*, the ſame *Nuncio* brought unto the King a *Brief* from the Pope, wherein the King was exhorted and ſummoned to come in Perſon againſt the *Turk*. For that the Pope (out of the care of an *Univerſal Father*) ſeeing almoſt under his eyes the Succeſſes and Progreſſes of that great Enemy of the *Faith*, had had in the *Conclave*, and with the Aſſiſtance of the *Ambaſſadors* of forein Princes, divers Conſultations about an *Holy War*, and a General Expedition of *Chriſtian Princes* againſt the *Turk*. Wherein it was agreed, and thought fit, that the *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, and *Bohemians* ſhould make a *War* upon *Thracia*; the *French* and *Spaniards* upon *Gracia*; and that the Pope (willing to ſacrifice himſelf in ſo good a Cauſe) in Perſon and in Company of the King of *England*, the *Venetians*, and ſuch other States as were great in maritim Power, would ſail with a puiſſant *Navy* through the *Mediterrane* unto *Conſtantinople*. And that to this end, his Holineſs had ſent *Nuncio's* to all *Chriſtian Princes*; As well for a *Ceſſation* of all Quarrels and Differences amongſt

amongſt themſelves, as for ſpeedy *Preparations* and *Contributions* of *Forces* and *Treaſure* for this *Sacred Enterprize.*

To this the King, (who underſtood well the Court of *Rome*) made an *Anſwer* rather *Solemn*, than *Serious*: Signifying;

THat no Prince *on Earth ſhould be more forward and obedient, both by his* Perſon, *and by all his poſſible* Forces, *and* Fortunes, *to enter into this Sacred* War, *than himſelf. But that the diſtance of Place was ſuch, as no* Forces *that he ſhould raiſe for the Seas, could be levied or prepared, but with double the charge, and double the time (at the leaſt) that they might be from the other* Princes, *that had their* Territories *nearer adjoyning. Beſides, that neither the manner of his Ships (having no Galleys) nor the Experience of his* Pilots *and* Mariners *could be ſo apt for thoſe Seas, as theirs. And therefore that his* Holineſs *might do well, to move one of thoſe other* Kings, *who lay fitter for the purpoſe, to accompany him by Sea. Whereby both all things would be ſooner put in readineſs, and with leſs Charge, and the* Emulation *and* Diviſion *of* Command, *which might grow between thoſe Kings of* France *and* Spain, *if they ſhould both joyn in the* War *by Land upon* Grecia, *might be wiſely avoided. And that for his part, he would not be wanting in* Ayds *and* Contribution. *Yet notwithſtanding, if both theſe Kings ſhould refuſe, rather than his* Holineſs *ſhould go alone, he would wait upon him, as ſoon as he could be ready. Always provided, that he might firſt ſee all* Differences *of the* Chriſtian Princes *amongſt themſelves, fully laid down and appeaſed (as for his own part he was in none.) And that he might have ſome good Towns upon the Coaſt in* Italy *put into his hands, for the Retrait and ſafeguard of his Men.*

With this Anſwer *Jaſper Pons* returned, nothing at all diſcontented. And yet this *Declaration* of the King (as ſuperficial as it was) gave him that *Reputation* abroad, as he was not long after elected by the *Knights* of the *Rhodes*, *Protector* of their *Order*; All things multiplying to *Honour* in a *Prince*, that had gotten ſuch high Eſtimation for his *Wiſdom* and *Sufficiency.*

There were theſe two laſt years ſome proceedings againſt *Hereticks*, which was rare in this King's Reign, and rather by *Penances*, than by *Fire.* The King had (though he were no good *School-man*) the Honour to convert one of them by Diſpute at *Canterbury.*

This year alſo, though the King were no more haunted with *Sprites*, for that by the *ſprinkling*, partly of *Blood*, and partly of *Water*, he had chaſed them away; yet nevertheleſs he had certain *Apparitions* that troubled him, ſtill ſhewing themſelves from one *Region*, which was the Houſe of *York.* It came ſo to paſs, that the Earl of *Suffolk*, Son to *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Siſter to King *Edward* the Fourth, by *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, her ſecond Husband, and

Brother to *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, that was ſlain at *Stockfield*, being of an haſty and Cholerick diſpoſition, had killed a man in his fury; whereupon the King gave him his *Pardon*. But either willing to leave a *Cloud* upon him, or the better to make him feel his *Grace*, produced him openly to plead his *Pardon*. This wrought in the Earl, as in a haughty ſtomack it uſeth to do; for the *Ignominy* printed deeper than the *Grace*. Wherefore he being diſcontent, fled ſecretly into *Flanders*, unto his *Aunt* the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*. The King ſtartled at it. But being taught by Troubles, to uſe fair and timely *Remedies*, wrought ſo with him by Meſſages, (the Lady *Margaret* alſo growing by often failing in her *Alchymy*, weary of her Experiments, and partly being a little ſweetned, for that the King had not touched her name in the Confeſſion of *Perkin*) that he came over again upon good terms, and was reconciled to the King.

In the beginning of the next year, being the Seventeenth of the King, the Lady *Katherine* fourth Daughter of *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, arrived in *England*, at *Plimouth*, the ſecond of *October*, and was married to Prince *Arthur* in *Pauls* the fourteenth of *November* following. The Prince being then about fifteen years of age, and the Lady about eighteen. The manner of her Receiving, the manner of her Entry into *London*, and the Celebrity of the *Marriage* were performed with great and true Magnificence, in regard of *Coſt*, *Shew*, and *Order*. The chief man that took the care was Biſhop *Fox*; who was not only a grave *Counſellor* for War or Peace, but alſo a good *Surveyor* of Works, and a good *Maſter* of *Ceremonies*, and any thing elſe that was fit for the *Active* part, belonging to the ſervice of *Court*, or *State* of a great King. This *Marriage* was almoſt ſeven years in *Treaty*; which was in part cauſed by the tender years of the *Marriage-couple*, eſpecially of the *Prince*. But the true reaſon was, that theſe two *Princes*, being *Princes* of great Policy and profound Judgment, ſtood a great time looking one upon another's *Fortunes*, how they would go, knowing well that in the mean time, the very *Treaty* it ſelf gave abroad in the World a Reputation of a ſtrait Conjunction and Amity between them; which ſerved on both ſides to many purpoſes, that their ſeveral Affairs required, and yet they continued ſtill free. But in the end, when the *Fortunes* of both the *Princes* did grow every day more and more proſperous and aſſured, and that looking all about them they ſaw no better Conditions, they ſhut it up.

The *Marriage*-Money the *Princeſs* brought (which was turned over to the King by Act of *Renunciation*) was two hundred thouſand *Ducats*. Whereof one hundred thouſand were payable ten days after the *Solemnization*, and the other hundred thouſand at two payments Annual; but part of it to be in *Jewels* and *Plate*, and a due courſe ſet down to have them juſtly and indifferently prized.

prized. The *Joynture* or *Advancement* of the *Lady*, was the third part of the *Principality* of *Wales*, and of the *Dukedom* of *Cornwal*, and of the *Earldom* of *Cheſter*, to be after ſet forth in ſeveralty. And in caſe ſhe came to be Queen of *England*, her *Advancement* was left indefinite, but thus; That it ſhould be as great, as ever any former Queen of *England* had.

In all the *Devices* and *Conceits* of the *Triumphs* of this *Marriage*, there was a great deal of *Aſtronomy*. The *Lady* being reſembled to *Heſperus*, and the *Prince* to *Arcturus*, and the old King *Alphonſus* (that was the greateſt *Aſtronomer* of Kings, and was *Anceſtor* to the *Lady*) was brought in to be the *Fortune-teller* of the *Match*. And whoſoever had thoſe *Toys* in Compiling, they were not altogether *Pedanticul*. But you may be ſure that King *Arthur*, the *Briton*, and the deſcent of the Lady *Katherine* from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, was in no wiſe forgotten. But (as it ſhould ſeem) it is not good to fetch *Fortunes* from the *Stars*. For this young *Prince* (that drew upon him at that time, not only the Hopes and Affections of his *Countrey*, but the Eyes and Expectation of *Foreiners*) after a few Months, in the beginning of *April*, deceaſed at *Ludlow*-Caſtle, where he was ſent to keep his *Reſiance* and *Court*, as *Prince* of *Wales*. Of this *Prince*, in reſpect he dyed ſo young, and by reaſon of his Father's manner of Education, that did caſt no great *Luſtre* upon his *Children*, there is little particular Memory. Only thus much remaineth, that he was very ſtudious and learned, beyond his years, and beyond the Cuſtom of great *Princes*.

There was a doubt ripped up in the times following, when the *Divorce* of King *Henry* the Eighth from the Lady *Katherine* did ſo much buſie the world, whether *Arthur* was bedded with his Lady or no, whereby that matter in fact (of *Carnal Knowledge*) might be part of the *Caſe*. And it is true, that the Lady her ſelf denyed it, or at leaſt her *Council* ſtood upon it, and would not blanch that Advantage, although the *plenitude* of the Pope's *power* of Diſpenſing was the main Queſtion. And this Doubt was kept long open, in reſpect of the two Queens that ſucceeded, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, whoſe *Legitimations* were incompatible one with another, though their *Succeſſion* was ſetled by *Act* of *Parliament*. And the Times that favoured Queen *Maries* Legitimation, would have it believed, that there was no *Carnal Knowledge* between *Arthur* and *Katherine*. Not that they would ſeem to derogate from the Pope's abſolute power, to diſpenſe even in that *Caſe*; but only in point of Honour, and to make the *Caſe* more favourable and ſmooth. And the Times that favoured Queen *Elizabeths* Legitimation (which were the longer, and the later) maintained the contrary. So much there remaineth in Memory, that it was half a years time between the *Creation* of *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, and Prince *Arthur*'s death; which was conſtrued to be, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appear, whether the Lady *Katherine* were

were with *Child* by Prince *Arthur*, or no. Again, the Lady her ſelf procured a *Bull*, for the better Corroboration of the *Marriage*, with a Clauſe of (*vel forſan cognitam*) which was not in the firſt *Bull*. There was given in Evidence alſo, when the cauſe of the *Divorce* was handled, a pleaſant paſſage, which was; That in a Morning Prince *Arthur*, upon his up-riſing from Bed with her, called for drink, which he was not accuſtomed to do, and finding the *Gentleman* of his Chamber that brought him the drink to ſmile at it and to note it, he ſaid merrily to him, That he had been in the midſt of *Spain*, which was an hot *Region*, and his Journey had made him dry, and that if the other had been in ſo hot a *Clime*, he would have been dryer than he. Beſides, the Prince was upon the point of Sixteen years of Age when he dyed, and forward, and able in Body.

The *February* following, *Henry* Duke of *York* was created Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Cheſter* and *Flint*. For the Dukedom of *Cornwal* devolved to him by *Statute*. The King alſo being faſt-handed, and loth to part with a ſecond *Dowry*, but chiefly being affectionate both by his Nature, and out of Politick Conſiderations to continue the Alliance with *Spain*, prevailed with the Prince (though not without ſome Reluctation, ſuch as could be in thoſe years, for he was not twelve years of Age) to be contracted with the Princeſs *Katherine*. The ſecret *Providence* of God ordaining that *Marriage*, to be the Occaſion of great Events and Changes.

The ſame year were the *Eſpouſals* of *James* King of *Scotland*, with the Lady *Margaret*, the King's eldeſt Daughter; which was done by *Proxy*, and publiſhed at *Paul's* Croſs, the five and twentieth of *January*, and *Te Deum* ſolemnly ſung. But certain it is, that the *Joy* of the *City* thereupon ſhewed, by Ringing of *Bells*, and *Bon-fires*, and ſuch other *Incenſe* of the People, was more than could be expected, in a Caſe of ſo great and freſh Enmity between the *Nations*; eſpecially in *London*, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former calamities of the *War*. And therefore might be truly attributed to a *Secret Inſtinct* and *Inſpiring* (which many times runneth not only in the *Hearts* of *Princes*, but in the *Pulſe* and *Veins* of People) touching the happineſs thereby to enſue in time to come. This *Marriage* was in *Auguſt* following conſummate at *Edenburgh*. The King bringing his Daughter as far as *Colly-Weſton* on the way, and then conſigning her to the Attendance of the Earl of *Northumberland*; who with a great Troop of *Lords* and *Ladies* of *Honour*, brought her into *Scotland*, to the *King* her Husband.

This *Marriage* had been in *Treaty* by the ſpace of almoſt three years, from the time that the King of *Scotland* did firſt open his mind to Biſhop *Fox*. The Summ given in *Marriage* by the King, was ten thouland Pounds. And the *Joynture* and *Advancement* aſſured

aſſured by the King of *Scotland*, was two thouſand Pounds a year, after King *James* his Death, and one thouſand Pounds a year in preſent, for the *Ladys* Allowance or Maintenance. This to be ſet forth in *Lands*, of the beſt and moſt certain Revenue. During the *Treaty*, it is reported, that the King remitted the matter to his *Council*; And that ſome of the *Table* in the Freedom of *Counſellors* (the King being preſent) did put the *Caſe*; that if God ſhould take the King's two *Sons* without *Iſſue*, that then the Kingdom of *England* would fall to the King of *Scotland*, which might prejudice the *Monarchy* of *England*. Whereunto the King himſelf replied; That if that ſhould be, *Scotland* would be but an *Acceſſion* to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*, for that the greater would draw the leſs: And that it was a ſafer Union for *England*, than that of *France*. This paſſed as an *Oracle*, and ſilenced thoſe that moved the *Queſtion*.

The ſame year was fatal, as well for *Deaths*, as *Marriages*, and that with equal temper. For the *Joys* and *Feaſts* of the two *Marriages*, were compenſed with the *Mournings*, and *Funerals* of Prince *Arthur* (of whom we have ſpoken) and of Queen *Elizabeth*, who dyed in Child-bed in the *Tower*, and the *Child* lived not long after. There dyed alſo that year Sir *Reginold Bray*, who was noted to have had with the King the greateſt *Freedom* of any *Counſellor*; but it was but a *Freedom*, the better to ſet off *Flattery*. Yet he bare more than his juſt part of *Envy*, for the *Exactions*.

At this time the King's Eſtate was very proſperous, ſecured by the Amity of *Scotland*, ſtrengthned by that of *Spain*, cheriſhed by that of *Burgundy*, all Domeſtick Troubles quenched, and all Noiſe of *War* (like a *Thunder* a-far-off) going upon *Italy*. Wherefore *Nature*, which many times is happily contained, and refrained by ſome Bands of *Fortune*, began to take place in the King; carrying (as with a ſtrong *Tide*) his Affections and Thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of *Treaſure*. And as Kings do more eaſily find Inſtruments for their *Will* and *Humour*, than for their *Service* and *Honour*; He had gotten for his purpoſe, or beyond his purpoſe, two Inſtruments, *Empſon* and *Dudley*, (whom the people eſteemed as his *Horſe-Leeches* and *Shearers*) bold men, and careleſs of *Fame*, and that took *Toll* of their Maſter's *Grift*. *Dudley* was of a good Family, Eloquent, and one that could put *Hateful Buſineſs* into good *Language*. But *Empſon*, that was the Son of a *Sieve-maker*, triumphed always upon the *Deed done*, putting off all other reſpects whatſoever. Theſe two Perſons being *Lawyers* in *Science*, and *Privy Counſellors* in *Authority* (as *the corruption of the beſt things is the worſt*) turned *Law* and *Juſtice* into *Wormwood* and *Rapine*. For firſt, their manner was to cauſe divers *Subjects* to be indicted of ſundry Crimes, and ſo far forth to proceed in form of *Law*; But when the *Bills* were found, then preſently to commit them. And nevertheleſs not to produce them to any reaſonable time to their *Anſwer*,

Anſwer, but to ſuffer them to languiſh long in *Priſon*; and by ſundry artificial *Devices* and *Terrours*, to extort from them great *Fines* and *Ranſoms*, which they termed *Compoſitions* and *Mitigations*.

Neither did they (towards the end) obſerve ſo much as the *Half-face* of *Juſtice*, in proceeding by *Indictment*; but ſent forth their Precepts to attach men, and convent them before themſelves and ſome others, at their private Houſes, in a *Court* of *Commiſſion*, and there uſed to ſhuffle up a *Summary Proceeding*, by *Examination*, without tryal of *Jury*; aſſuming to themſelves there, to deal both in *Pleas* of the *Crown*, and *Controverſies Civil*.

Then did they alſo uſe to enthral and charge the *Subjects* Lands with *Tenures in Capite*, by finding *Falſe Offices*, and thereby to work upon them for *Wardſhips*, *Liveries*, *Primier Seiſins*, and *Alienations*, (being the fruits of thoſe *Tenures*) refuſing upon divers Pretexts and Delays, to admit men to traverſe thoſe *Falſe Offices*, according to the *Law*. Nay, the King's *Wards* after they had accompliſhed their full Age, could not be ſuffered to have *Livery* of their Lands, without paying exceſſive *Fines*, far exceeding all reaſonable Rates. They did alſo vex men with *Informations* of *Intruſion* upon ſcarce colourable *Titles*.

When men were *Out-lawed* in *Perſonal Actions* they would not permit them to purchaſe their *Charters* of *Pardon*, except they paid great and intolerable ſumms; ſtanding upon the ſtrict Point of *Law*, which upon *Out-lawries* giveth *Forfeiture* of *Goods*. Nay, contrary to all *Law* and Colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of mens *Lands* and *Rents*, during the ſpace of full two years, for a *Pain* in *Caſe* of *Out-lawry*. They would alſo ruffle with *Jurors*, and enforce them to find as they would direct, and (if they did not) Convent them, Impriſon them, and Fine them.

Theſe and many other Courſes, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of *Preying* upon the *People*; both like *Tame Hawks* for their Maſter, and like *Wild Hawks* for themſelves; in ſo much as they grew to great Riches and Subſtance. But their principal working was upon *Penal Laws*, wherein they ſpared none, great nor ſmall; not conſidered whether the *Law* were poſſible, or impoſſible, in *Uſe* or *Obſolete*. But raked over all old and new *Statutes*, though many of them were made with intention rather of *Terrour*, than of *Rigour*; having ever a Rabble of *Promoters*, *Queſtmongers*, and leading *Jurors* at their Command, ſo as they could have any thing found either for *Fact*, or *Valuation*.

There remaineth to this day a *Report*, that the King was on a time entertained by the Earl of *Oxford* (that was his principal *Servant*, both for *War* and *Peace*) nobly and ſumptuouſly, at his Caſtle at *Henningham*. And at the King's going away, the Earl's Servants ſtood (in a ſeemly manner) in their *Livery-Coats*, with *Cogniſances*, ranged on both ſides, and made the King a *Lane*. The King

King called the Earl to him, and ſaid; *My Lord, I have heard much of your Hoſpitality, but I ſee it is greater than the ſpeech. Theſe handſom Gentlemen and Yeomen, which I ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure your Menial Servants.* The Earl ſmiled, and ſaid, *It may pleaſe your Grace, that were not for mine eaſe. They are moſt of them my Retainers, they are come to do me ſervice at ſuch a time as this, and chiefly to ſee your Grace.* The King ſtarted a little, and ſaid; *By my faith (my Lord) I thank you for my good Cheer, but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my ſight. My Attorney muſt ſpeak with you.* And it is part of the *Report*, that the Earl compounded for no leſs than fifteen thouſand Marks. And to ſhew further the Kings extreme Diligence; I do remember to have ſeen long ſince a Book of Accompt of *Empſon*'s, that had the King's hand almoſt to every Leaf, by way of *Signing*, and was in ſome places *Poſtilled* in the *Margin*, with the King's hand likewiſe, where was this *Remembrance:*

Item, *Received of ſuch a one, five Marks for the Pardon to be procured; and if the Pardon do not paſs, the Money to be re-paid, except the party be ſome other-ways ſatisfied.*

And over againſt this *Memorandum* (of the King's own hand)

Otherwiſe ſatisfied.

Which I do the rather mention, becauſe it ſhews in the King a *Nearneſs*, but yet with a kind of *Juſtneſs*. So theſe little *Sands* and *Grains* of *Gold* and *Silver* (as it ſeemeth) helped not a little to make up the great *Heap* and *Bank*.

But mean while (to keep the King awake) the Earl of *Suffolk* having been too gay at Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage, and ſunk himſelf deep in Debt, had yet once more a mind to be a *Knight-Errant*, and to ſeek *Adventures* in Forein parts. And taking his Brother with him, fled again into *Flanders*. That (no doubt) which gave him Confidence, was the great *Murmur* of the *People* againſt the *King*'s *Government*. And being a Man of a light and raſh *Spirit*; he thought every *Vapour* would be a *Tempeſt*. Neither wanted he ſome Party within the *Kingdom*. For the *Murmur* of *People* awakes the *Diſcontents* of *Nobles*; and again, that calleth up commonly ſome *Head* of *Sedition*. The King reſorting to his wonted and tryed Arts, cauſed Sir *Robert Curſon*, Captain of the *Caſtle* at *Hammes* (being at that time beyond Sea, and therefore leſs likely to be wrought upon by the King) to flie from his *Charge*, and to feign himſelf a ſervant of the Earl's. This Knight, having inſinuated himſelf into the Secrets of the Earl, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had either *Hope* or *Hold*, advertiſed the King thereof in great ſecrecy. But nevertheleſs maintained his own Credit and inward truſt with the Earl. Upon whoſe Advertiſe-

ments, the King attached *William Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, his Brother-in-Law, married to the Lady *Katherine*, Daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth; *William de la Pole*, Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk*; Sir *James Tirrel*, and Sir *John Windham*, and ſome other meaner Perſons, and committed them to Cuſtody. *George*, Lord *Abergaveny*, and Sir *Thomas Green*, were at the ſame time apprehended; but as upon leſs Suſpition, ſo in a freer Reſtraint, and were ſoon after delivered. The Earl of *Devonſhire*, being intereſſed in the blood of *York*, that was rather *Feared* than *Nocent*; yet as *One*, that might be the *Object* of others *Plots* and *Deſigns*, remained Priſoner in the *Tower*, during the King's life. *William de la Pole*, was alſo long reſtrained, though not ſo ſtraitly. But for Sir *James Tirrel* (againſt whom the *Blood* of the *Innocent* Princes, *Edward* the Fifth, and his Brother did ſtill cry from under the *Altar*) and Sir *John Windham*, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two Knights beheaded. Nevertheleſs, to confirm the Credit of *Curſon* (who belike had not yet done all his *Feats* of *Activity*) there was publiſhed at *Paul*'s Croſs, about the time of the ſaid Executions, the Pope's *Bull* of *Excommunication* and *Curſe*, againſt the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Robert Curſon*, and ſome others by name, and likewiſe in general againſt all the *Abettors* of the ſaid Earl. Wherein it muſt be confeſſed, that *Heaven* was made too much to bow to *Earth*, and *Religion* to *Policy*. But ſoon after, *Curſon* (when he ſaw time) returned into *England*, and withal into wonted *Favour* with the King, but worſe *Fame* with the People. Upon whoſe return the Earl was much diſmayed, and ſeeing himſelf deſtitute of hopes (the Lady *Margaret* alſo by tract of Time, and bad Succeſs, being now becom cool in thoſe attempts) after ſome wandering in *France*, and *Germany*, and certain little *Projects*, no better than *Squibs* of an *Exiled man*, being tired out, retired again into the Protection of the Arch-Duke *Philip* in *Flanders*, who by the death of *Iſabella* was at that time King of *Caſtile*, in the right of *Joan* his Wife.

This year (being the Nineteenth of his Reign) the King called his *Parliament*. Wherein a man may eaſily gueſs, how abſolute the King took himſelf to be with his *Parliament*, when *Dudley* that was ſo hateful, was made *Speaker* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*. In this *Parliament*, there were not made any *Statutes* memorable, touching publick *Government*. But thoſe that were, had ſtill the *Stamp* of the King's *Wiſdom* and *Policy*.

There was a *Statute* made for the diſannulling of all *Patents* of *Leaſe*, or *Grant*, to ſuch as came not upon lawful *Summons*, to ſerve the King in his *Wars*, againſt the *Enemies* or *Rebels*, or that ſhould depart without the King's licence; With an exception of certain Perſons of the *Long-robe*. Providing nevertheleſs, That they ſhould have the King's Wages, from their *Houſe*, till their return home again. There had been the like made before for *Offices*, and by this

this *Statute* it was extended to *Lands*. But a man may eaſily ſee by many *Statutes* made in this King's time, that the King thought it ſafeſt, to aſſiſt *Martial Law* by *Law* of *Parliament*.

Another *Statute* was made, prohibiting the bringing in of *Manufactures* of *Silk* wrought by it ſelf, or mixt with any other *Thred*. But it was not of *Stuffs* of whole piece (for that the Realm had of them no *Manufacture* in uſe at that time) but of *Knit-Silk*, or *Texture* of *Silk*; as *Ribands*, *Laces*, *Cawls*, *Points*, and *Girdles*, &c. which the people of *England* could then well skill to make. This *Law* pointed at a true *Principle*; *That where forein materials are but Superfluities, forein Manufactures ſhould be prohibited.* For that will either baniſh the *Superfluity*, or gain the *Manufacture*.

There was a *Law* alſo of *Reſumption* of *Patents* of *Gaols*, and the *Reannexing* of them to the *Sherifwicks*; *Priviledged Officers* being no leſs an Interruption of *Juſtice*, than *Priviledged Places*.

There was likewiſe a *Law* to reſtrain the *By-laws* or Ordinances of *Corporations*, which many times were againſt the *Prerogative* of the King, the *Common-law* of the *Realm*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, being *Fraternities* in Evil. It was therefore *Provided*, that they ſhould not be put in Execution, without the Allowance of the *Chancellor*, *Treaſurer*, and the two *Chief-Juſtices*, or three of them, or of the two *Juſtices* of *Circuit* where the *Corporation* was.

Another *Law* was (in effect) to bring in the *Silver* of the *Realm* to the *Mint*, in making all clipped, miniſhed, or impaired *Coins* of *Silver*, not to be currant in payments, without giving any Remedy of weight, but with an exception only of a reaſonable wearing, which was as nothing in reſpect of the incertainty; and ſo (upon the matter) to ſet the *Mint* on work, and give way to *New Coins* of *Silver*, which ſhould be then minted.

There likewiſe was a long *Statute* againſt *Vagabonds*, wherein two things may be noted; The one, the *Diſlike* the *Parliament* had of *Gaoling* of them, as that which was chargeable, peſterous, and of no open Example. The other, that in the *Statutes* of this King's time, (for this of the Nineteenth year is not the only *Statute* of that kind) there are ever coupled, the *puniſhment* of *Vagabonds*, and the *forbidding* of *Dice*, and *Cards*, and unlawful *Games* unto Servants and mean people, and the putting down and ſuppreſſing of *Ale-houſes*, as *Strings* of one *Root* together, and as if the One were unprofitable, without the Other.

As for *Riot* and *Retainers*, there paſſed ſcarce any *Parliament* in this time without a *Law* againſt them, the King ever having an Eye to *Might*, and *Multitude*.

There was granted alſo that *Parliament* a *Subſidy*, both for the *Temporalty* and the *Clergy*. And yet nevertheleſs, ere the year expired, there went out *Commiſſions* for a general *Benevolence*, though there were no *Wars*, no *Fears*. The ſame year the *City* gave five thouſand Marks, for *Confirmation* of their *Liberties*; A thing fitter for the

Beginnings of King's Reigns, than the latter Ends. Neither was it a ſmall matter, that the *Mint* gained upon the late *Statute*, by the *Recoinage* of *Groats*, and *Half-Groats*, now *Twelve-pences* and *Six-pences*. As for *Empſon* and *Dudley*'s Mills, they did grind more than ever. So that it was a ſtrange thing, to ſee what *Golden Showrs* poured down upon the King's *Treaſury* at once. The laſt payments of the *Marriage-Money* from *Spain*; The *Subſidy*; The *Benevolence*; The *Recoinage*; The *Redemption* of the *Cities Liberties*; The *Caſualties*. And this is the more to be marvelled at, becauſe the King had then no Occaſions at all of *Wars* or *Troubles*. He had now but one *Son* and one *Daughter* unbeſtowed. He was *Wiſe*; He was of an *High Mind*; He needed not to make *Riches* his *Glory*. He did excel in ſo many things elſe; ſave that certainly *Avarice* doth ever find in it ſelf matter of *Ambition*. Belike he thought to leave his Son ſuch a *Kingdom*, and ſuch a *Maſs* of *Treaſure*, as he might chooſe his *Greatneſs* where he would.

This year was alſo kept the *Serjeants Feaſt*, which was the ſecond *Call* in this Kings *Days*.

About this time *Iſabella*, Queen of *Caſtile*, deceaſed; a right Noble *Lady*, and an Honour to her *Sex*, and Times, and the *Corner-ſtone* of the Greatneſs of *Spain*, that hath followed. This Accident the King took not for *News* at large, but thought it had a great *Relation* to his own *Affairs*; eſpecially in two points: The one for *Example*; the other for *Conſequence*. Firſt, he conceived that the *Caſe* of *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*, after the death of Queen *Iſabella*, was his own *Caſe*, after the death of his own Queen: and the *Caſe* of *Joan* the Heir unto *Caſtile*, was the *Caſe* of his own Son Prince *Henry*. For if both of the Kings had their *Kingdoms* in the right of their *Wives*, they deſcended to the *Heirs*, and did not accrew to the *Husbands*. And although his own *Caſe* had both *Steel* and *Parchment*, more than the other (that is to ſay, a *Conqueſt* in the *Field*, and an *Act* of *Parliament*) yet, notwithſtanding, that Natural *Title* of Deſcent in *Blood*, did (in the imagination even of a wiſe man) breed a *Doubt*, that the other two were not ſafe nor ſufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent to enquire and obſerve what became of the King of *Arragon*, in holding and continuing the Kingdom of *Caſtile*. And whether he did hold it in his own *Right*, or as *Adminiſtrator* to his *Daughter*; and whether he were like to hold it in *Faſt*, or to be put out by his *Son-in-Law*. Secondly, he did revolve in his mind, that the State of *Chriſtendom* might by this late Accident have a turn. For whereas before-time himſelf, with the Conjunction of *Arragon* and *Caſtile* (which then was one) and the Amity of *Maximilian* and *Philip* his Son the Arch-Duke, was far too ſtrong a *Party* for *France*; he began to fear, that now the *French* King (who had great *Intereſt* in the Affections of *Philip* the young King of *Caſtile*) and *Philip* himſelf, now King of *Caſtile*, (who was in ill

ill terms with his *Father-in-Law* about the preſent Government of *Caſtile.*) And thirdly *Maximilian*, *Philip*'s Father (who was ever variable, and upon whom the ſureſt Aim that could be taken, was that he would not be long, as he had been laſt before) would, all three being potent *Princes*, enter into ſome ſtrait *League* and *Confederation* amongſt themſelves. Whereby though he ſhould not be endangered, yet he ſhould be left to the poor Amity of *Arragon*. And whereas he had been heretofore a kind of *Arbiter* of *Europe*, he ſhould now go leſs, and be over-topped by ſo great a *Conjunction*. He had alſo (as it ſeems) an inclination to marry, and bethought himſelf of ſome fit Conditions abroad. And amongſt others he had heard of the *Beauty* and virtuous *Behaviour* of the young Queen of *Naples*, the Widow of *Ferdinando* the younger, being then of *Matronal* years of ſeven and twenty. By whoſe Marriage he thought that the Kingdom of *Naples* (having been a Goal for a time, between the King of *Arragon*, and the *French* King, and being but newly ſetled) might in ſome part be depoſited in his hands, who was ſo able to keep the Stakes. Therefore he ſent in Ambaſſage or Meſſage three confident Perſons; *Francis Marſin*, *James Braybrook*, and *John Stile*, upon two ſeveral *Inquiſitions* rather than *Negotiations*. The One, touching the Perſon and Condition of the young Queen of *Naples*; the Other, touching all particulars of *Eſtate*, that concerned the *Fortunes* and *Intentions* of *Ferdinando*. And becauſe they may obſerve beſt, who themſelves are obſerved leaſt, he ſent them under *Colourable Pretexts*; giving them Letters of Kindneſs and Compliment from *Katharine* the Princeſs, to her Aunt, and Niece, the Old and Young Queen of *Naples*, and delivering to them alſo a *Book* of new *Articles* of *Peace*; which notwithſtanding it had been delivered unto Doctor *De Puebla*, the Leigier Ambaſſador of *Spain* here in *England*, to be ſent; yet for that the King had been long without hearing from *Spain*, he thought good thoſe *Meſſengers*, when they had been with the two Queens, ſhould likewiſe paſs on to the Court of *Ferdinando*, and take a Copy of the *Book* with them. The *Inſtructions* touching the Queen of *Naples* were ſo curious and exquiſite, being as *Articles* whereby to direct a *Survey*, or framing a *Particular* of her *Perſon*, for Complexion, Favour, Feature, Stature, Health, Age, Cuſtoms, Behaviour, Conditions, and Eſtate, as if the King had been young, a man would have judged him to be *Amorous*; but being ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that ſure he was very *Choſt*, for that he meant to find all things in one Woman, and ſo to ſettle his *Affections*, without ranging. But in this *Match* he was ſoon cooled, when he heard from his Ambaſſadors, that this young Queen had had a goodly *Joynture* in the Realm of *Naples*, well anſwered during the time of her Uncle *Frederick*, yea, and during the time of *Lewis* the *French* King, in whoſe *Diviſion* her Revenue fell; but ſince the time that the Kingdom was

was in *Ferdinando*'s hands, all was aſſigned to the Army, and Garriſons there, and ſhe received only a *Penſion* or *Exhibition* out of his Coffers.

The other part of the *Inquiry* had a grave and diligent Return, informing the King at full of the preſent State of King *Ferdinando*. By this Report it appeared to the King, that *Ferdinando* did continue the Government of *Caſtile* as Adminiſtrator unto his Daughter *Joan*, by the Title of Queen *Iſabella*'s Will, and partly by the Cuſtom of the Kingdom, as he pretended. And that all *Mandates* and *Grants* were expedited in the name of *Joan* his Daughter, and himſelf as Adminiſtrator, without mention of *Philip*, her Husband. And that King *Ferdinando*, howſoever he did diſmiſs himſelf of the name of King of *Caſtile*, yet meant to hold the *Kingdom*, without Accompt, and in abſolute Command.

It appeareth alſo, that he flattered himſelf with hopes, that King *Philip* would permit unto him the Goverment of *Caſtile* during his life; which he had laid his Plot to work him unto, both by ſome *Counſellors* of his about him, which *Ferdinando* had at his devotion, and chiefly by promiſe, that in caſe *Philip* gave not way unto it, he would marry ſome young Lady, whereby to put him by the Succeſſion of *Arragon* and *Granada*, in caſe he ſhould have a Son. And laſtly by repreſenting unto him that the Government of the *Burgundians*, till *Philip* were by continuance in *Spain* made as Natural of *Spain*, would not be endured by the *Spaniards*. But in all thoſe things (though wiſely laid down and conſidered) *Ferdinando* failed; But that *Pluto* was better to him than *Pallas*.

In the ſame Report alſo, the Ambaſſadors being mean men, and therefore the more free, did ſtrike upon a ſtring which was ſomewhat dangerous. For they declared plainly, that the People of *Spain*, both Nobles and Commons, were better affected unto the part of *Philip* (ſo he brought his Wife with him) than to *Ferdinando*; and expreſſed the reaſon to be, becauſe he had impoſed upon them many *Taxes*, and *Tallages*, which was the King's own Caſe between him and his Son.

There was alſo in this Report a Declaration of an Overture of of *Marriage*, which *Amaſon* the Secretary of *Ferdinando* had made unto the Ambaſſadors in great ſecret, between *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile* and *Mary* the King's ſecond Daughter; aſſuring the King, that the Treaty of *Marriage* then on foot, for the ſaid Prince and the Daughter of *France*, would break, and that ſhe the ſaid Daughter of *France* ſhould be married to *Angoleſme*, that was the Heir Apparant of *France*.

There was a touch alſo of a ſpeech of *Marriage* between *Ferdinando* and Madam *De Foix*, a Lady of the Blood of *France*, which afterwards indeed ſucceeded. But this was reported as learned in *France*, and ſilenced in *Spain*.

The

The King by the return of this Ambaſſage, which gave great light unto his Affairs, was well inſtructed, and prepared how to carry himſelf between *Ferdinando* King of *Arragon*, and *Philip* his Son-in-law, King of *Caſtile*; reſolving with himſelf, to do all that in him lay to keep them at one within themſelves; But howſoever that ſucceeded, by a moderate Carriage and bearing the Perſon of a *Common-friend*, to loſe neither of their Friendſhips; but yet to run a *Courſe* more *entire* with the King of *Arragon*, but more *laboured* and *officious* with the King of *Caſtile*. But he was much taken with the Overture of *Marriage* with his Daughter *Mary*; Both becauſe it was the greateſt *Marriage* of *Chriſtendom*, and for that it took hold of both Allies.

But to corroborate his Alliance with *Philip*, the Winds gave him an Enterview. For *Philip* chooſing the Winter-ſeaſon, the better to ſurpriſe the King of *Arragon*, ſet forth with a great Navy out of *Flanders* for *Spain* in the Month of *January*, the One and Twentieth year of the King's Reign. But himſelf was ſurpriſed with a cruel *Tempeſt*, that ſcattered his Ships upon the ſeveral Coaſts of *England*. And the Ship wherein King and Queen were (with two other ſmall Barques only) torn, and in great peril to eſcape the fury of the weather, thruſt into *Weymouth*. King *Philip* himſelf, having not been uſed (as it ſeems) to Sea, all wearied and extreme ſick, would needs land to refreſh his Spirits, though it was againſt the Opinion of his *Council*, doubting it might breed *Delay*, his Occaſions requiring *Celerity*.

The Rumour of the Arrival of a puiſſant *Navy* upon the Coaſt, made the Countrey Arm. And Sir *Thomas Trenchard* with Forces ſuddenly raiſed, not knowing what the matter might be, came to *Weymouth*. Where underſtanding the Accident, he did in all Humbleneſs and Humanity invite the King and Queen to his Houſe; and forthwith diſpatched *Poſts* to the Court. Soon after came Sir *John Caroe* likewiſe, with a great troop of Men well armed; uſing the like Humbleneſs and Reſpect towards the King, when he knew the Caſe. King *Philip* doubting that they, being but Subjects, durſt not let him paſs away again, without the King's Notice and Leave, yielded to their Entreaties, to ſtay till they heard from the Court. The King as ſoon as he heard the News, commanded preſently the Earl of *Arundel*, to go to viſit the King of *Caſtile*, and let him underſtand; That as he was very ſorry for his Miſhap, ſo he was glad that he had eſcaped the Danger of the Seas, and likewiſe of the Occaſion himſelf had to do him Honour; and deſiring him, to think himſelf as in his own Land; and that the King made all haſte poſſible to come and embrace him. The Earl came to him in great Magnificence, with a brave *Troop* of three hundred *Horſe*; and (for more *State*) came by *Torch-light*. After he had done the King's Meſſage, King *Philip* ſeeing how the world went, the ſooner to get away, went

went upon ſpeed to the King at *Windſor*, and his Queen followed by eaſie journeys. The two Kings at their meeting uſed all the *Careſſes*, and loving Demonſtrations, that were poſſible. And the King of *Caſtile* ſaid preſently to the King; *That he was now puniſhed, for that he would not come within his walled Town of* Calice, *when they met laſt.* But the King anſwered, *That Walls and Seas were nothing, where Hearts were open, and that he was here no otherwiſe, but to be ſerved.* After a day or two's refreſhing, the Kings entred into ſpeech of renewing the *Treaty*; the King ſaying, That though King *Philip*'s Perſon were the ſame, yet his *Fortunes* and *State* were raiſed. In which Caſe a Renovation of *Treaty* was uſed amongſt *Princes.* But while theſe things were in handling, the King chooſing a fit time, and drawing the King of *Caſtile* into a Room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, and changing his Countenance a little from a Countenance of *Entertainment*, ſaid to him; *Sir, you have been ſaved upon my Coaſt, I hope you will not ſuffer me to wrack upon yours.* The King of *Caſtile* asked him, *What he meant by that ſpeech? I mean it* (ſaith the King) *by that ſame Hare-brain wild Fellow, my Subject, the Earl of* Suffolk, *who is protected in your Countrey, and begins to play the Fool, when all others are weary of it.* The King of *Caſtile* anſwered; *I had thought (Sir) your Felicity had been above thoſe thoughts. But if it trouble you, I will baniſh him.* The King replied; *Thoſe Hornets were beſt in their Neſts, and worſt when they did flie abroad, that his deſire was, to have him delivered to him.* The King of *Caſtile* herewith a little confuſed, and in a ſtudy, ſaid; *That can I not do with my honour, and leſs with yours; for you will be thought to have uſed me as a Priſoner.* The King preſently ſaid; *Then the matter is at an end. For I will take that diſhonour upon me, and ſo your honour is ſaved.* The King of *Caſtile*, who had the King in great Eſtimation, and beſides remembred where he was, and knew not what uſe he might have of the King's Amity, for that himſelf was new in his Eſtate of *Spain*, and unſetled, both with his Father-in-Law, and with his *People*, compoſing his Countenance, ſaid; *Sir, you give Law to me; but ſo will I to you. You ſhall have him, but (upon your honour) you ſhall not take his life.* The King embracing him, ſaid; *Agreed.* Saith the King of *Caſtile*, *Neither ſhall it diſlike you, if I ſend to him in ſuch a faſhion, as he may partly come with his own good will.* The King ſaid; *It was well thought of; and if it pleaſed him, he would joyn with him, in ſending to the Earl a Meſſage to that purpoſe.* They both ſent ſeverally, and mean while they continued *Feaſting* and *Paſtimes.* The King being (on his part) willing to have the Earl ſure before the King of *Caſtile* went; and the King of *Caſtile* being as willing to ſeem to be enforced. The King alſo with many wiſe and excellent Perſwaſions, did adviſe the King of *Caſtile*, to be ruled by the counſel of his Father-in-Law *Ferdinando*; a Prince ſo prudent, ſo experienced,

ſo

ſo fortunate. The King of *Caſtile* (who was in no very good terms with his ſaid Father-in-Law) anſwered; *That if his Father-in-Law would ſuffer him to govern his Kingdoms, he ſhould govern him.*

There were immediately Meſſengers ſent from both Kings to recall the Earl of *Suffolk*: Who upon gentle words uſed to him was ſoon charmed, and willing enough to return; aſſured of his *Life*, and hoping of his *Liberty*. He was brought through *Flanders* to *Calice*, and thence landed at *Dover*, and with ſufficient Guard delivered and received at the *Tower* of *London*. Mean while King *Henry* (to draw out the time) continued his *Feaſtings* and *Entertainments*, and after he had received the King of *Caſtile* into the *Fraternity* of the *Garter*, and for a Reciprocal had his Son the Prince admitted to the *Order* of the *Golden-fleece*, he accompanied King *Philip* and his Queen to the City of *London*; where they were entertained with the greateſt *Magnificence* and *Triumph*, that could be upon no greater warning. And as ſoon as the Earl of *Suffolk* had been conveyed to the *Tower* (which was the ſerious part) the Jollities had an end, and the Kings took leave. Nevertheleſs during their being here, they in ſubſtance concluded that *Treaty*, which the *Flemings* term *Intercurſus malus*, and bears Date at *Windſor*; for that there be ſome things in it, more to the Advantage of the *Engliſh*, than of them; eſpecially, for that the *Free-fiſhing* of the *Dutch* upon the Coaſts and Seas of *England*, granted in the *Treaty* of *Undecimo*, was not by this *Treaty* confirmed. *All Articles* that confirm former *Treaties* being preciſely and warily limited and confirmed to matter of *Commerce* only, and not otherwiſe.

It was obſerved, that the great Tempeſt which drave *Philip* into *England*, blew down the *Golden Eagle*, from the Spire of *Pauls*, and in the fall it fell upon a Sign of the *Black Eagle*, which was in *Pauls* Church-yard, in the place where the *School-Houſe* now ſtandeth, and battered it, and brake it down. Which was a ſtrange *ſtooping* of a *Hawk* upon a Fowl. This the People interpreted to be an Ominous Prognoſtick upon the *Imperial Houſe*, which was (by Interpretation alſo) fulfilled upon *Philip* the Emperor's Son, not only in the Preſent Diſaſter of the Tempeſt, but in that that followed. For *Philip* arriving into *Spain*, and attaining the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Caſtile* without reſiſtance, (inſomuch as *Ferdinando*, who had ſpoke ſo great before, was with difficulty admitted to the ſpeech of his Son-in-Law) ſickned ſoon after, and deceaſed. Yet after ſuch time as there was an *Obſervation* by the wiſeſt of that *Court*, That if he had lived, his Father would have gained upon him in that ſort, as he would have governed his *Counſels* and *Deſigns*, if not his *Affections*. By this all *Spain* returned into the power of *Ferdinando* in ſtate as it was before; the rather, in regard of the infirmity of *Joan* his Daughter, who loving her Husband (by whom ſhe had many Children) dearly well, and no leſs beloved of him) howſoever

her Father, to make *Philip* ill beloved of the People of *Spain*, gave out that *Philip* uſed her not well) was unable in ſtrength of mind to bear the Grief of his Deceaſe, and fell diſtracted of her *Wits*. Of which *Malady* her Father was thought no ways to endeavour the *Cure*, the better to hold his Regal Power in *Caſtile*. So that as the *Felicity* of *Charles* the Eighth was ſaid to be a *Dream*; ſo the *Adverſity* of *Ferdinando* was ſaid likewiſe to be a *Dream*, it paſſed over ſo ſoon.

About this time the King was deſirous to bring into the Houſe of *Lancaſter* Celeſtial Honour, and became Suitor to Pope *Julius*, to Canonize King *Henry* the Sixt for a *Saint*; the rather, in reſpect of that his famous *Prediction* of the King's own Aſſumption to the Crown. *Julius* referred the matter (as the manner is) to certain *Cardinals*, to take the verification of his *Holy Acts* and *Miracles*. But it dyed under the Reference. The general Opinion was, that Pope *Julius* was too dear, and that the King would not come to his *Rates*. But it is more probable, That that Pope (who was extremely jealous of the Dignity of the *See* of *Rome*, and of the Acts thereof) knowing that King *Henry* the Sixt was reputed in the World abroad but for a *Simple Man*, was afraid it would but diminiſh the Eſtimation of that kind of *Honour*, if there were not a diſtance kept between *Innocents* and *Saints*.

The ſame year likewiſe there proceeded a *Treaty* of *Marriage* between the King and the Lady *Margaret* Ducheſs Dowager of *Savoy*, only Daughter to *Maximilian*, and Siſter to the King of *Caſtile*; a Lady wiſe, and of great good *Fame*. This Matter had been in ſpeech between the two Kings at their meeting, but was ſoon after reſumed; and therein was employed for his firſt piece the King's then *Chaplain*, and after the great Prelate *Thomas Wolſey*. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample Conditions for the King, but with promiſe *De Futuro* only. It may be the King was the rather induced unto it, for that he heard more and more of the *Marriage* to go on between his great Friend and Allie *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*, and Madam *De Fois*, whereby that King began to piece with the *French* King, from whom he had been always before ſevered. So fatal a thing it is, for the greateſt and ſtraiteſt Amities of Kings, at one time or other to have a little of the *Wheel*. Nay there is a further Tradition (in *Spain*, though not with us) That the King of *Arragon*, after he knew that the *Marriage* between *Charles*, the young Prince of *Caſtile*, and *Mary* the King's ſecond Daughter went roundly on (which though it was firſt moved by the King of *Arragon*, yet it was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to perfection by *Maximilian*, and the Friends on that ſide) entred into jealouſie, that the King did aſpire to the Government of *Caſtilia*, as *Adminiſtrator* during the Minority of his Son-in-Law; as if there ſhould have been a Competition of *Three* for that Government; *Ferdinando*, Grand-father on the Mothers ſide;

Maxi-

Maximilian, Grand-father on the Father's ſide; and King *Henry*, Father-in-Law to the young Prince. Certainly, it is not unlike, but the King's Government (carrying the young Prince with him) would have been perhaps more welcom to the *Spaniards*, than that of the other Two. For the Nobility of *Caſtilia*, that ſo lately put out the King of *Arragon*, in favour of King *Philip*, and had diſcovered themſelves ſo far, could not but be in a ſecret Diſtruſt and Diſtaſt of that King. And as for *Maximilian*, upon Twenty reſpects he could not have been the Man. But this purpoſe of the King's ſeemeth to me (conſidering the King's ſafe Courſes, never found to be enterprizing or adventurous) not greatly probable, except he ſhould have had a Deſire to breathe warmer, becauſe he had ill *Lungs*. This *Marriage* with *Margaret* was protracted from time to time, in reſpect of the *Infirmity* of the King, who now in the Two and Twentieth year of his Reign began to be troubled with the *Gout*. But the Defluxion taking alſo into his Breaſt, waſted his *Lungs*, ſo that thrice in a Year (in a kind of Return, and eſpecially in the *Spring*,) he had great Fitts and Labours of the *Tiſſick*. Nevertheleſs he continued to intend Buſineſs with as great diligence, as before in his Heath. Yet ſo, as upon this warning, he did likewiſe now more ſeriouſly think of the World to come, and of making himſelf a *Saint*, as well as King *Henry* the Sixth, by *Treaſure* better employed, than to be given to Pope *Julius*. For this Year he gave greater *Alms* than accuſtomed, and diſcharged all *Priſoners* about the *City*, that lay for *Fees* or *Debts*, under forty Shillings. He did alſo make haſte with Religious *Foundations*; and in the Year following (which was the Three and Twentieth) finiſhed that of the *Savoy*. And hearing alſo of the bitter *Cries* of his *People* againſt the *Oppreſſions* of *Dudley* and *Empſon*, and their Complices; partly by Devout Perſons about him, and partly by publick *Sermons* (the *Preachers* doing their Duty therein) he was touched with great Remorſe for the ſame. Nevertheleſs, *Empſon* and *Dudley*, though they could not but hear of theſe Scruples in the King's Conſcience; yet as if the King's *Soul* and his *Money* were in ſeveral *Offices*, that the One was not to intermeddle with the Other, went on with as great rage as ever. For the ſame Three and Twentieth Year was there a ſharp Proſecution againſt Sir *William Capel* now the ſecond time; and this was for matters of Miſgovernment in his *Maioralty*. The great Matter being, that in ſome Payments he had taken knowledge of *Falſe Moneys*, and did not his diligence to examine, and beat it out, who were the Offendors. For this and ſome other things laid to his Charge, he was condemned to pay two thouſand Pounds; and being a Man of ſtomach, and hardened by his former Troubles, refuſed to pay a *Mite*; and be-like uſed ſome untoward Speeches of the Proceedings, for which he was ſent to the *Tower*, and there remained till the King's Death. *Kneſworth* likewiſe, that had been lately

Mayor of *London*, and both his Sheriffs, were, for Abuſes in their Offices, queſtioned, and impriſoned, and delivered, upon one thouſand four hundred Pounds paid. *Hawis*, an Alderman of *London*, was put in Trouble, and dyed with Thought and Anguiſh, before his Buſineſs came to an end. Sir *Lawrence Ailmer*, who had likewiſe been Mayor of *London*, and his two Sheriffs, were put to the Fine of one thouſand Pounds. And Sir *Lawrence*, for refuſing to make payment, was committed to Priſon, where he ſtay'd till *Empſon* himſelf was committed in his place.

It is no marvel (if the *Faults* were ſo light, and the *Rates* ſo heavy) that the King's Treaſure of Store, that he left at his death, moſt of it in ſecret places, under his own key and keeping, at *Richmond*, amounted (as by Tradition it is reported to have done) unto the Summ of near eighteen hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling; a huge Maſs of *Money*, even for theſe times.

The laſt *Act* of *State* that concluded this King's Temporal Felicity, was the Concluſion of a Glorious *Match* between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile*, afterwards the great Emperor, both being of tender years; which *Treaty* was perfected by Biſhop *Fox*, and other his Commiſſioners at *Calice*, the year before the King's Death. In which *Alliance*, it ſeemeth he himſelf took ſo high Contentment, as in a Letter which he wrote thereupon to the City of *London*, (Commanding all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy to be made for the ſame) he expreſſeth himſelf, as if he thought he had built a *Wall* of *Braſs* about his Kingdom. When he had for his Sons-in-Law a King of *Scotland*, and a Prince of *Caſtile* and *Burgundy*. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great King's Felicity, being at the top of all worldly *Bliſs*, (in regard of the high *Marriages* of his Children, his great *Renown* throughout *Europe*, and his ſcarce credible *Riches*, and the perpetual *Conſtancy* of his proſperous Succeſſes) but an opportune *Death*, to withdraw him from any future blow of *Fortune*. Which certainly (in regard of the great *Hatred* of his *People* and the *Title* of his *Son*, being then come to Eighteen years of Age, and being a bold Prince and liberal, and that gained upon the People by his very *Aſpect* and *Preſence*) had not been impoſſible to have come upon him.

To crown alſo the laſt year of his Reign, as well as his firſt, he did an *Act* of *Piety*, rare, and worthy to be taken into Imitation. For he granted forth a *General Pardon*, as expecting a ſecond *Coronation* in a better *Kingdom*. He did alſo declare in his *Will*, that his mind was, that *Reſtitution* ſhould be made of thoſe *Summs*, which had been unjuſtly taken by his *Officers*.

And thus this *Solomon* of *England* (for *Solomon* alſo was too heavy upon his People in *Exactions*) having lived Two and Fifty Years, and thereof Reigned Three and Twenty Years and Eight Months,

Months, being in perfect *Memory*, and in a moſt Bleſſed *Mind*, in a great *Calm* of a *Conſuming Sickneſs* paſſed to a better World, the Two and Twentieth of *April*, 1508. at his Palace of *Richmond*, which himſelf had Built.

THis King (*to ſpeak of him in Terms equal to his Deſerving*) *was one of the beſt ſort of* Wonders; *a* Wonder *for* Wiſe-men. *He had parts* (*both in his* Virtues, *and his* Fortune) *not ſo fit for a* Common-place, *as for* Obſervation. *Certainly he was* Religious, *both in his* Affection *and* Obſervance. *But as he could ſee clear* (*for thoſe times*) *through* Superſtition, *ſo he would be blinded* (*now and than*) *by Humane* Policy. *He advanced* Church-men; *he was tender in the Privilege of* Sanctuaries, *though they wrought him much Miſchief. He built and endowed many* Religious Foundations, *beſides his* Memorable Hoſpital *of the* Savoy. *And yet was he a great* Almsgiver *in ſecret; which ſhewed, that his* Works in publick *were dedicated rather to* God's glory, *than his own. He profeſſed always to love and ſeek* Peace; *and it was his uſual* Preface *in his* Treaties; That when Chriſt came into the *World, Peace* was ſung; and when He went out of the *World, Peace* was bequeathed. *And this* Virtue *could not proceed out of* Fear, *or* Softneſs; *for he was* Valiant *and* Active, *and therefore* (*no doubt*) *it was truly* Chriſtian *and* Moral. *Yet he knew the way to* Peace, *was not to ſeem to be deſirous to avoid* Wars. *Therefore would he make* Offers, *and* Fames *of* Wars, *till he had mended the* Conditions *of* Peace. *It was alſo much, that one that was ſo great a Lover of* Peace, *ſhould be ſo happy in* War. *For his* Arms (*either in* Forein *or* Civil Wars) *were never* Infortunate; *neither did he know what a* Diſaſter *meant. The* War *of his* Coming in, *and the* Rebellions *of the Earl of* Lincoln, *and the Lord* Awdley *were ended by* Victory. *The* Wars *of* France *and* Scotland, *by* Peaces *ſought at his hands. That of* Britain, *by accident of the Duke's death. The* Inſurrection *of the Lord* Lovel, *and that of* Perkin *at* Exceter, *and in* Kent, *by flight of the* Rebels, *before they came to* Blows. *So that his* Fortune *of* Arms *was ſtill* Inviolate. *The rather ſure, for that in the quenching of the* Commotions *of his* Subjects, *he ever went in* Perſon. *Sometimes reſerving himſelf to back and ſecond his* Lieutenants, *but ever in* Action; *and yet that was not meerly* Forwardneſs, *but partly* Diſtruſt *of others.*

He did much maintain and countenance his Laws, *which* (*nevertheleſs*) *was no* Impediment *to him to work his* Will. *For it was ſo handled, that neither* Prerogative, *nor* Profit *went to* Diminution. *And yet as he would ſometimes ſtrain up his* Laws *to his* Prerogative, *ſo would he alſo let down his* Prerogative *to his* Parliament. *For* Mint, *and* Wars, *and* Martial Diſcipline, (*things of abſolute Power*) *he would nevertheleſs bring to* Parliament. Juſtice *was well adminiſtred in his time,*

time, ſave where the King was Party: Save alſo, that the Council-Table intermedled too much with Meum and Tuum. For it was a very Court of Juſtice during his time, eſpecially in the Beginning. But in that part both of Juſtice and Policy, which is the Durable Part, and cut (as it were) in Braſs or Marble (which is The making of good Laws) he did excell. And with his Juſtice, he was alſo a Merciful Prince, as in whoſe time, there were but three of the Nobility that ſuffered; the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Awdley. Though the firſt two were inſtead of Numbers, in the Diſlike and Obloquie of the People. But there were never ſo great Rebellions, expiated with ſo little Blood, drawn by the hand of Juſtice, as the two Rebellions of Black-heath and Exceter. As for the Severity uſed upon thoſe which were taken in Kent, it was but upon a Scum of People. His Pardons went ever both before, and after his Sword. But then he had withal a ſtrange kind of Interchanging of large and inexpected Pardons, with ſevere Executions. Which (his Wiſdom conſidered) could not be imputed to any Inconſtancy, or Inequality; but either to ſome Reaſon which we do not now know, or to a Principle he had ſet unto himſelf, That he would vary, and try both ways in turn. But the leſs Blood he drew, the more he took of Treaſure. And (as ſome conſtrued it) he was the more ſparing in the One, that he might be the more preſſing in the Other; for both would have been intolerable. Of Nature aſſuredly he coveted to accumulate Treaſure, and was a little Poor in admiring Riches. The People (into whom there is infuſed, for the preſervation of Monarchies, a natural Deſire to diſcharge their Princes, though it be with the unjuſt charge of their Counſellors and Miniſters) did impute this unto Cardinal Morton, and Sir Reginold Bray; who (as it after appeared) as Counſellors of ancient Authority with him, did ſo ſecond his Humours, as nevertheleſs they did temper them. Whereas Empſon, and Dudley that followed, being Perſons that had no Reputation with him (otherwiſe than by the ſervile following of his Bent) did not give way only (as the firſt did) but ſhape him way to thoſe Extremities, for which himſelf was touched with remorſe at his Death, and which his Succeſſor renounced, and ſought to purge. This Exceſs of his, had at that time many Gloſſes and Interpretations. Some thought the continual Rebellions wherewith he had been vexed, had made him grow to hate his People. Some thought it was done to pull down their Stomachs, and to keep them low. Some, for that he would leave his Son a Golden-fleece. Some ſuſpected he had ſome high Deſign upon Forein parts. But thoſe perhaps ſhall come neareſt the truth, that fetch not their reaſons ſo far off; but rather impute it to Nature, Age, Peace, and a Mind fixed upon no other Ambition or Purſuit. Whereunto I ſhould add, that having every day Occaſion to take notice of the Neceſſities and Shifts for Money of other great Princes abroad, it did the better (by Compariſon) ſet off to him the Felicity of full Coffers. As to his expending of Treaſure, he never ſpared Charge which his Affairs required; and in his Buildings was Magnificent, but his Rewards

were

were very limited. So that his Liberality *was rather upon his own* State *and* Memory, *than upon the* Deſerts *of others.*

He was of an High Mind, *and loved his own* Will, *and his own* Way; *as One that revered himſelf, and would* Reign *indeed. Had he been a* Private-man, *he would have been termed* Proud. *But in a wiſe* Prince, *it was but keeping of* Diſtance, *which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full* Approach, *neither to his* Power *or to his* Secrets. *For he was governed by none. His* Queen *notwithſtanding ſhe had preſented him with divers* Children, *and with a* Crown *alſo, (though he would not acknowledge it) could do nothing with him. His* Mother *he reverenced much, heard little. For any* Perſon *agreeable to him for* Society *(ſuch as was* Haſtings *to King* Edward *the Fourth, or* Charles Brandon *after to King* Henry *the Eighth) he had none: Except we ſhould account for ſuch Perſons,* Fox, *and* Bray, *and* Empſon, *becauſe they were ſo much with him. But it was but as the* Inſtrument *is much with the* Work-man. *He had nothing in him of* Vain-glory, *but yet kept* State *and* Majeſty *to the height; Being ſenſible, That* Majeſty *maketh the People bow, but* Vain-glory *boweth to them.*

To his Confederates *abroad he was* Conſtant *and* Juſt, *but not* Open. *But rather ſuch was his* Inquiry, *and ſuch his* Cloſeneſs, *as they ſtood in the* Light *towards him, and he ſtood in the* Dark *to them. Yet without* Strangeneſs, *but with a ſemblance of mutual* Communication *of Affairs. As for little* Envies *or* Emulations *upon* Forein Princes *(which are frequent with many Kings) he had never any; but went ſubſtantially to his own* Buſineſs. *Certain it is, that though his* Reputation *was great at home, yet it was greater abroad. For* Foreiners *that could not ſee the Paſſages of* Affairs, *but made their Judgments upon the* Iſſues *of them, noted that he was ever in* Strife, *and ever* A-loft. *It grew alſo from the* Airs, *which the* Princes *and* States *abroad received from their* Ambaſſadors *and* Agents *here; which were attending the* Court *in great number. Whom he did not only content with* Courteſie, Reward, *and* Privateneſs; *but (upon ſuch* Conferences *as paſſed with them) put them in* Admiration, *to find his* Univerſal Inſight *into the Affairs of the World. Which though he did ſuck chiefly from themſelves; yet that which he had gathered from them all, ſeemed Admirable to every one: So that they did write ever to their* Superiours *in high terms, concerning his* Wiſdom *and* Art *of* Rule. *Nay, when they were returned, they did commonly maintain* Intelligence *with him. Such a* Dexterity *he had to impropriate to himſelf all* Forein Inſtruments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good Intelligence *from all parts abroad. Wherein he did not only uſe his* Intereſt *in the* Liegers *here, and his* Penſioners *which he had both in the Court of* Rome, *and other the Courts of* Chriſtendom; *but the* Induſtry *and* Vigilancy *of his own* Ambaſſadors *in Forein parts. For which purpoſe, his* Inſtructions *were ever* Extreme, Curious, *and* Articulate; *and in them more*

Articles

Articles *touching* Inquiſition, *than touching* Negotiation. *Requiring likewiſe from his* Ambaſſadors *an* Anſwer, *in particular diſtinct* Articles, *reſpectively to his* Queſtions.

As for his ſecret Spials, *which he did employ both at home and abroad, by them to diſcover what* Practices *and* Conſpiracies *were againſt him, ſurely his* Caſe *required it: He had ſuch* Moles *perpetually working and caſting to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended. For if* Spials *be lawful againſt lawful* Enemies, *much more againſt* Conſpirators *and* Traytors. *But indeed to give them* Credence *by* Oaths *or* Curſes, *that cannot be well maintained; for thoſe are too holy* Veſtments *for a* Diſguiſe. *Yet ſurely there was this further* Good *in his employing of theſe* Flies *and* Familiars; *That as the uſe of them was cauſe that many* Conſpiracies *were revealed, ſo the* Fame *and* Suſpition *of them kept (no doubt) many* Conſpiracies *from being attempted.*

Towards his Queen *he was nothing* Uxorious, *nor ſcarce* Indulgent; *but* Companiable, *and* Reſpective, *and without* Jealouſie. *Towards his* Children *he was full of* Paternal Affection, *Careful of their* Education, *aſpiring to their* High Advancement, *regular to ſee that they ſhould not want of any due* Honour *and* Reſpect, *but not greatly willing to caſt any* Popular Luſtre *upon them.*

To his Council *he did refer much, and ſate oft in Perſon; knowing it to be the Way to aſſiſt his* Power, *and inform his* Judgment. *In which reſpect alſo he was fairly patient of* Liberty, *both of* Advice, *and of* Vote, *till himſelf were declared. He kept a ſtrait hand on his* Nobility, *and choſe rather to advance* Clergy-men *and* Lawyers, *which were more* Obſequious *to him, but had leſs* Intereſt *in the* People, *which made for his* Abſoluteneſs, *but not for his* Safety. *In ſo much as (I am perſwaded) it was one of the* Cauſes *of his* Troubleſom *Reign; for that his* Nobles, *though they were* Loyal *and* Obedient, *yet did not* Co-operate *with him, but let every man go his own Way. He was not afraid of an Able Man, as* Lewis *the Eleventh was. But contrariwiſe, he was ſerved by the Ableſt Men that were to be found; without which his Affairs could not have proſpered as they did. For War,* Bedford, Oxford, Surrey, Dawbeney, Brook, Poynings. *For other Affairs,* Morton, Fox, Bray, *the Prior of* Lanthony, Warham, Urſwick, Huſſey, Frowick, *and others. Neither did he care how* Cunning *they were, that he did employ; For he thought himſelf to have the* Maſter-Reach. *And as he choſe well, ſo he held them up well. For it is a ſtrange thing, that though he were a* Dark Prince, *and infinitely* Suſpitious, *and his Times full of* Secret Conſpiracies *and* Troubles; *yet in Twenty-four Years* Reign, *he never put down, or diſcompoſed* Counſellor, *or near* Servant, *ſave only* Stanley, *the Lord Chamberlain. As for the* Diſpoſition *of his* Subjects *in General towards him, it ſtood thus with him; That of the* Three Affections, *which naturally tye the Hearts of the* Subjects *to their* Sovereigns, Love, Fear, *and* Reverence; *he had the* laſt *in height, the*

the ſecond *in good meaſure, and ſo little of the* firſt, *as he was beholding to the other* Two.

He was a Prince, Sad, Serious, *and full of* Thoughts, *and ſecret* Obſervations, *and full of* Notes *and* Memorials *of his own hand, eſpecially touching* Perſons. *As whom to Employ, whom to Reward, whom to Enquire of, whom to Beware of, what were the* Dependencies, *what were the* Factions, *and the like; keeping (as it were) a* Journal *of his* Thoughts. *There is to this day a merry Tale; That his* Monkey *(ſet on as it was thought by one of his Chamber) tore his Principal* Note-Book *all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth. Whereat the* Court *(which liked not thoſe Penſive* Accompts) *was almoſt tickled with ſport.*

He was indeed full of Apprehenſions *and* Suſpitions. *But as he did eaſily take them, ſo he did eaſily check them, and maſter them: whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himſelf more than others. It is true, his* Thoughts *were ſo many, as they could not well always ſtand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did he at ſome times weigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly, that* Rumour *which did him ſo much miſchief* (That *the Duke of* York ſhould be ſaved, and alive) *was (at the firſt) of his own nouriſhing; becauſe he would have more Reaſon not to reign in the* Right *of his* Wife. *He was* Affable, *and both* Well *and* Fair-ſpoken, *and would uſe ſtrange* Sweetneſs *and* Blandiſhments *of* Words, *where he deſired to effect or perſwade any thing that he took to heart. He was rather* Studious *than* Learned; *reading moſt* Books *that were of any worth, in the* French *Tongue. Yet he underſtood the* Latin, *as appeareth in that Cardinal* Hadriah, *and others, who could very well have written* French; *did uſu to write to him in* Latin.

For his Pleaſures, *there is no News of them. And yet by his* Inſtructions *to* Marſin *and* Stile, *touching the Queen of* Naples, *it ſeemeth he could Interrogate well touching* Beauty. *He did by* Pleaſures, *as great* Princes *do by* Banquets, *come and look a little upon them, and turn away. For never* Prince *was more wholly given to his* Affairs, *nor in them more of himſelf. In ſo much, as in* Triumphs *of* Juſts *and* Tourneys, *and* Balls, *and* Maſques *(which they then called* Diſguiſes) *he was rather a* Princely *and Gentle* Spectator, *than ſeemed much to be delighted.*

No doubt, in him as in all men (and moſt of all in Kings) *his Fortune wrought upon his* Nature, *and his* Nature *upon his Fortune. He attained to the* Crown, *not only from a private* Fortune, *which might endow him with* Moderation; *but alſo from the Fortune of an* Exiled Man, *which had quickned in him all* Seeds *of* Obſervation *and* Induſtry. *And his* Times *being rather* Proſperous, *than* Calm, *had raiſed his* Confidence *by* Succeſs, *but almoſt marred his* Nature *by* Troubles. *His* Wiſdom, *by often evading from* Perils, *was turned rather into a* Dexterity *to deliver himſelf from* Dangers, *when they preſſed him, than into a* Providence *to prevent and remove them a far off. And even in* Nature, *the* Sight *of his* Mind *was like ſome* Sights *of* Eyes; *rather ſtrong at hand, than to carry a far off. For his* Wit

increaſed upon the Occaſion; *and ſo much the more, if the* Occaſion *were ſharpened by* Danger. *Again, whether it were the ſhortneſs of his* Foreſight, *or the ſtrength of his* Will, *or the dazeling of his* Suſpitions, *or what it was; Certain it is, that the perpetual* Troubles *of his* Fortunes (*there being no more matter out of which they grew*) *could not have been without ſome great* Defects, *and main* Errours *in his* Nature, Cuſtoms, *and* Proceedings, *which he had enough to do to ſave and help, with a thouſand little* Induſtries *and* Watches. *But thoſe do beſt appear in the* Story *it ſelf. Yet take him with all his* Defects, *if a* Man *ſhould compare him with the* Kings *his* Concurrents, *in* France *and* Spain, *he ſhall find him more* Politick *than* Lewis *the Twelfth of* France, *and more* Entire *and* Sincere *than* Ferdinando *of* Spain. *But if you ſhall change* Lewis *the Twelfth, for* Lewis *the Eleventh, who lived a little before; then the* Conſort *is more perfect. For that* Lewis *the Eleventh,* Ferdinando, *and* Henry, *may be eſteemed for the* Tres Magi *of* Kings *of thoſe* Ages. *To conclude, If this* King *did no greater matters, it was long of himſelf; for what he minded, he compaſſed.*

He was a Comely Perſonage, *a little above* Juſt Stature, *well and ſtraight limmed, but ſlender. His* Countenance *was* Reverend, *and a little like a* Church-man: *And as it was not* ſtrange *or* dark, *ſo neither was it* Winning *or* Pleaſing, *but as the* Face *of one well diſpoſed. But it was to the Diſadvantage of the* Painter; *for it was beſt when he ſpake.*

His Worth *may bear a* Tale *or two, that may put upon him ſomewhat that may ſeem* Divine. *When the Lady* Margaret *his* Mother *had divers great* Suitors *for* Marriage, *ſhe dreamed one Night,* That one in the likeneſs of a Biſhop, in Pontificial habit, did tender her *Edmund* Earl of *Richmond* (the King's Father) for her Husband. *Neither had ſhe ever any* Child *but the* King, *though ſhe had three* Husbands. *One day when King* Henry *the Sixth, (whoſe* Innocency *gave him* Holineſs) *was waſhing his hands at a great* Feaſt, *and caſt his* Eye *upon King* Henry, *then a young* Youth, *he ſaid;* This is the Lad, that ſhall poſſeſs quietly that that we now ſtrive for. *But that that was truly* Divine *in him, was, that he had the* Fortune *of a* True Chriſtian, *as well as of a* Great King, *in living* Exerciſed, *and dying* Repentant. *So as he had an happy* Warfare *in both* Conflicts, *both of* Sin, *and the* Croſs.

He was born at Pembrook-*Caſtle, and lyeth buried at* Weſtminſter, *in one of the Statelieſt and Daintieſt Monuments of* Europe, *both for the* Chappel, *and for the* Sepulchre. *So that he dwelleth more richly* Dead, *in the* Monument *of his* Tomb, *than he did* Alive *in* Richmond, *or any of his* Palaces. *I could wiſh he did the like, in this* Monument *of his* Fame.

FINIS.

ANNALS
OF
ENGLAND:

CONTAINING THE REIGNS
OF
HENRY the Eighth,
EDWARD the Sixth,
QUEEN *MARY*.

Written in *Latin* by the Right Honorable and Right Reverend Father in God,

FRANCIS
Lord BISHOP of HEREFORD.

Thus *Engliſhed*, Corrected, and Enlarged with the Author's conſent,
BY
MORGAN GODWYN. his Son *
LL.D. & Canon of Hereford.

Nec verbum verbo curabo reddere, fidus
Interpres. —— Horat.

LONDON,
Printed by *W. G.* for *T. Baſſet*, *J. Wright*, and *R. Chiſwel.*
M. DC. LXXV.

T 2

The Author (inter alia) of — The Man in the Moon or a Voyage thither. publiſhed under the Name of Domingo Gonſales — Anno 1638 & Reprinted after his death. Anno 1701.

vide Wood's Ath. Oxonienſis Vol. 1. fol. 497 & 498. also. 2 Vol. fol. 692 printed 1691

The Tranſlator's Dedication.

To the Right Honorable, the Lord

SCUDAMORE,

VISCOUNT SLEGO.

My Lord,

ALthough I have ever been averſe from works of this nature, as deſirous to know them in the Original, rather than in any after-taught Language, yet have I not unwillingly undergone the task of this Tranſlation. It is an *Engliſh* Hiſtory of thoſe turbulent times, whereof no one hath written either ſo largely or freely as this Author, who intended it for the common good, whereof the meer *Engliſh*, without theſe or the like pains of ſome other would have been incapable. Your Lordſhip hath known it in the *Latin*, which Tongue you have naturalized. Wherefore this Dedication may ſeem needleſs.

But

But it is due to you as the work of your Servant, in which regard it craves your Honorable Patronage. It hath hitherto walked under Royal Protection. Other would not have befitted the Author of this ingenuous Hiſtory, by the exemplified Miſeries whereof the buſie Spirits of theſe times may learn rightly to deem of our modern Happineſs. But even ſmall grievances in any *Part* make us inſenſible of the general good eſtate of the *Whole*. We will be ignorant of our good, and unhappy. As for theſe *Annals*, they have long paſſed with approbation. If they now diſtaſt, let the fault be the Tranſlators, and the Pardon Yours; to whom alone my maiden pen ſueth for favour, and to whoſe ſervice dedicateth himſelf

Your Honours

moſt humbly devoted,

MORG. GODWYN.

The Translator to the Reader.

THe *Author's Preface hath occaſioned mine. Wherein it may be expected I ſhould give a publick accompt of this action. I had once otherwiſe reſolved. But it is the faſhion. And therefore know (gentle Reader) that Evil is oft times the (accidental) cauſe of Good. Idleneſs invited me to the tryal of my Pen in ſome few looſe ſheets, which my fancy converted to the private uſe of a* beloved Friend. *Other end had I none. Sithence the Reverend Author hath been pleaſed to impoſe that as a ſerious task, which I had wantonly begun, Nature commanded duty and obedience, and ſo have I the glory of the time,* To be in Print.

Sed dic, *Poſthume*, de tribus capellis.

How doth the Author's Preface conduce to mine? Why thus. To many who perhaps will not at firſt conſider, that this work is but a Tranſlation, or ſeek advantages to expend their Cenſures, his may ſeem impertinent. But let them know, that theſe Annals were firſt written, In gratiam Exterorum Res noſtras noſcendi cupidorum. *So much witneſſeth the firſt* Latin *Edition. Peruſe it and find it. I am but an Interpreter, of whom, I hope, thou wilt not expect a dictionary-*

Tranſla-

Tranſlation. Neither quarrel the omiſſion of ſome things, the knowledge whereof is to our Natives ſo innate, that now to inſert them, were as bad as to farce with tautologies, and make this little Volume nauſeous. Yet hath it loſt nothing of its bulk, whatſoever it hath of its ſplendour; thoſe defalcations being here and there in the courſe of the Hiſtory ſupplied with not unneceſſary additions, whereto the Author's approbation and conſent was not wanting. As for errours of the Preſs, blame the Printer, not me. If thou by this reap either profit or pleaſure, thank the Author, whoſe benefit it is that thou haſt it; and that not tongue-tied, but more than ſingle-languaged. Good is of it ſelf diffuſive, and he participates ſo much of it, that he cannot endeavour an envious confinement of it. Farewel.

The

The Author's Epiſtle Dedicatory.

To my moſt Gracious Sovereign,

CHARLES,

King of Great *Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*;

The moſt invict Defender of the Faith.

Moſt Royal Sir,

THeſe Commentaries, containing the Acts of three Princes, began about ſome ten years ſince, under the Protection of Your moſt Auguſt Father to breathe the common air; and but for ſo Gracious an Aſpect, had ſuffered even at the inſtant of their Birth. For the errours of the Preſs had made them ſuch, as might have deterred even extreme Impudence from ſo preſumptive a Dedication. Yet ſuch as they were, they found Acceptance and Favour at His Royal Hands. Hence am I encouraged to conſecrate this ſecond (but corrected) Edition to

Your Majesty, Who inherit as well Your Father's Virtues, as his Kingdoms. Neither indeed can it befit any other after KING *JAMES* of ever Sacred Memory. Most humbly therefore beseecheth Your Majesty to daign it the like Gracious Acceptance, who with the same Loyalty and Observance dedicateth and consecrateth to Your Majesty himself and his,

Your Majesties

most humble

Chaplain,

FR. HEREF[D.]

The AUTHOR's Preface to the READER.

AMong the many who have in Latin compiled the Hiſtory of our Nation, Polydor Virgil in the opinion of moſt excelleth: not that he hath written either more truly or copiouſly, than many others; but more politely, and lateſt of any that have taken pains in this kind. For indeed it could not be, that a Foreiner, an Italian, well gone in years even at his firſt arrival in England, (where being made Archdeacon of Wells, he long ſurvived not) ſhould not often erre in the delivery of our Affairs, and in regard of his mere ignorance in the Engliſh tongue, in ſilence bury many worthy paſſages recorded by our Engliſh Writers only. It being therefore to be wiſhed, and is much deſired, that ſome one verſed in our Antiquities would (as Learned Maſter Camden hath already done for the deſcription of the Iſland) conſecrate part of his learned labours to the Eternity of Britain, not in reforming that obſolete Virgilian Hiſtory, but in compoſing a new one: Our Antiquaries may juſtly be taxed of Sloth (I had almoſt ſaid ſlothfulneſs) who had rather ſuffer the famous Acts of their Anceſtors to dye eternally in ſilence, and ſo (as much as in them lieth) defraud their Countrey of its true and deſerved Glory, than beſtow any the leaſt pains in commenting; that ſo the examples of moſt eminent Virtues (whereof the harveſt here hath ever been moſt plentiful) might not want the Record of their due Monuments. This I hope ſome or other will in good time perform. In the mean time, others drawing back, although I was never endued with ſuch eloquence, as that I ſhould dare adventure the writing of an Hiſtory (but now eſpecially

—— vires ultra ſortemque ſenectæ,

when having paſſed the age of fifty, long deſuetude may have dulled my faculty of penning) yet have I thought

it might prove pains-worthy, to undertake briefly in three ſmall Commentaries to ſet forth the deeds of three Princes, immediate Succeſſors to Henry *the Seventh, ſo far forth as I have had notice of them. And that, partly that by touching at the fountain (as they ſay) I might ſtir up the wits of others; partly that the deſires of Foreiners might in ſome ſort be ſatisfied, who not without cauſe complain, that theſe times, than which for a thouſand years we have had none more memorable, in regard of their divers and remarkable changes, are not deſcribed by any, otherwiſe than ſlightly, and as if they had not intended any ſuch thing. As for* Polydor Virgil, *he hath written either nothing or very little concerning them; and that little ſo falſe and misbeſeeming the ingenuity of an Hiſtorian, that he ſeemeth to have aimed at no other end, than by bitter invectives againſt* Henry *the Eighth and Cardinal* Wolſey *to demerit the favour of Queen* Mary, *already more than befitted incenſed againſt both for the Divorce of her Mother. I have therefore written (friendly Reader) and ſo written, that although many things (I will not deny) conducing to an Hiſtorian may be wanting in me; yet am I confident, that this my endeavour will find acceptance with many. Other Writers may here have as it were a ſtore-houſe, from whence they may (if I be not deceived) furniſh themſelves with ſome matter, which may help to raiſe an everlaſting Monument. Foreiners alſo, ignorant of the* Engliſh *tongue, may have a taſt of theſe times, until ſome one ariſe, who can and will compile a Hiſtory of our Nation worthy the majeſty of the* Britiſh *name. I have in this work been ſo obſervant of Impartiality, Simplicity, and Truth, that I fear nothing ſo much as a Domeſtick anger for not being pious enough, becauſe I would not be over-pious. Many contend, that a good Prince ſhould be* μὴ πονηρὸς, ἀλλ' ἠρεμονηρὸς. *This (I think) no man will affirm of an Hiſtorian, though ſome ſeem to opine it: So that he ſhall come ſhort of his duty, either to God or his Countrey, who in the delivery of an Hiſtory will not be at the leaſt* ἠρεμονηρὸς: *and who by affirming incertainties and known truths, ſhall not yield much*

much to his affections, ſo they be joyned with the love of Religion and Countrey. But how much do they injure Truth, who from lies and falſhood beg helps to underprop her? Avant. We have no need of them. And had we, yet would it not much profit us to rely on ſuch weak advantages; one pious lye *detected proving more hurtful, than a thouſand others, although ſo artificially contrived that they avoid diſcovery, can prove profitable. For example whereof ſeek no farther than the* Papiſts, *whoſe feigned Miracles, Impoſtures, and Legends patched up of lyes have brought to paſs, that even in thoſe things which are true, they ſcarce gain belief. Wherefore, I am well content that Truth, which maugre her enemies will at length be every where victorious, ſhall prevail with me. I have done to my power. Politely, eloquently, politickly, I could not write; Truly, and* fide Atticâ, *as they ſay, I could. If I have done amiſs in ought, it is not out of* malice, *but* errour, *which the gentle Reader will (I hope) pardon. This I earneſtly intreat, withal beſeeching the All-good and All-mighty God, that this my labour directed to no other end, than to his glory and the good of his Church, may attain its due, and by me deſired ſucceſs. Farewel.*

1509.

ANNALS OF ENGLAND,

From the Year 1508, to the Year 1558.

BOOK I.

King HENRY the Eighth.

ANNO DOM. 1509. *REG.* 1.

After the death of *Henry* the Seventh, his only Son, *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, undertook the Government of this Kingdom. He had then attained to the Age of Eighteen years, and was richly adorned with Endowments both of Body and Mind. For of Stature he was tall, of a beautiful Aſpect, and of Form through all his age truly beſeeming a King: He was witty, docil, and naturally propenſe to Letters, until Pleaſures (to which the Liberty of Sovereignty eaſily prompteth) did ſomewhat unſeaſonably withdraw him from his Studies; to theſe you may add, a Great Spirit, aſpiring to the glory both of Fortitude and Munificence. This towardlineſs was ſo ſeconded by the happy care of his Tutors, that if the end of his Reign had been anſwerable to the beginning, *Henry* the Eighth might deſervedly have been ranked amongſt the greateſt of our Kings. For if you conſider his firſt Twenty years, you ſhall not eaſily find any one, that either more happily managed Affairs abroad, or Governed more wiſely at home, or that bare greater ſway among his Neighbour Princes. This I think ought chiefly to be aſcribed to the providence of his wiſe Father,

1509. Father, and his Grand-mother then ſtill alive. For they took care, that he ſhould have wiſe and virtuous Over-ſeers in his youth, by whoſe aſſiſtance having once paſſed the hazards thereof, he happily avoided thoſe Rocks, whereon ſo many daily ſuffer wrack. But theſe either dying, or being ſo broken with age, that they could be no longer employed in affairs of State, and he himſelf being now come to thoſe years, that commonly caſt aſide Modeſty, (*Modeſty*, I ſay, *the Guardian of that great Virtue*,) then making uſe of no *Counſellor* but his Will, he fell into thoſe Vices, which notwithſtanding the glory of his former Reign, branded him deeply with the foul ſtains of Luxury and Cruelty. But remitting thoſe things to their proper places, thoſe Worthies appointed his *Counſellors* were;

His Privy-Council.

William Warham, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and Lord Chancellour of* England.
Richard Fox, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter.
Thomas Ruthal, *Biſhop of* Durham.
Thomas Howard, *Earl of* Surrey, *Lord Treaſurer of* England.
George Talbot, *Earl of* Shrewsbury.
Lord Steward of the King's Houſhold.
Charles Somerſet, *Lord Chamberlain.*
Sir Thomas Lovel, *Sir* Henry Wyat, *Sir* Edward Poynings; } *Knights.*

The Funerals of K. Henry *the Seventh.*

Theſe men, the Solemnity of the dead King's Funeral being duly and magnificently performed, erected him a Tomb all of Braſs, accounted one of the ſtateſieſt Monuments of *Europe*, which one would hardly conceive by the Bill of Accompts: For it is reported that it coſt but a Thouſand Pounds. The Monument is to be ſeen at *Weſtminſter* (the uſual place of our Kings Interments) in that admirable Chappel dedicated to St. *Stephen*, by this King heretofore built from the ground, a teſtimony of his religious Piety. I have read, that this Chappel was raiſed to that height for the ſumm of Fourteen thouſand Pounds, and no more; and that he at the ſame time built a Ship of an unuſual burthen, called from him, *The great Henry*, which by that time it was rigged, coſt little leſs than that ſtately Chappel. But now, O *Henry I.* what is become of that Ship of thine? that other Work (beſides the reward of Heaven) will perpetually proclaim thy pious Munificence. Hence learn, O Kings! that the true Trophies of Glory are not to be placed in Armories and Arſenals, but (and thoſe more durable) in Pious Works. *Seek, firſt ſeek the Kingdom of God, and the righteouſneſs thereof, and without doubt all other things ſhall be added unto you.*

St. Stephen's Chappel.

But

1509.

The Coronation of Henry *the Eighth.*

But to go on in my propoſed courſe, although *Henry* the Eighth began his Reign the two and twentieth of *April* 1509, his Coronation was deferred to the four and twentieth of *June*. In the mean time, his *Council* thought it would prove a profitable policy for the King to marry *Katherine* the Widow of Prince *Arthur*, his deceaſed Brother, and Daughter to *Ferdinando* King of *Caſtile*; for otherwiſe that huge maſs of Money aſſigned for her Jointure muſt yearly be tranſported out of the Kingdom. Neither was there at firſt any other doubt made of this Match, than whether it were approved by the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, for as much as the Scripture (ſaid ſome) forbad any man to marry his *Brother's Wife*. But this rub was eaſily removed by the omnipotence of the Pope's *Bull*, in ſo much that preſently upon the Diſpenſation of Pope *Julius*, on the third of *June*, under a malignant Conſtellation, the Nuptials of theſe Princes were ſolemnized, and they both Crowned the four and twentieth of *June* next following, being St. *John* Baptiſt's day. At theſe Solemnities there wanted neither pomp, nor acclamations of the Eſtates of the Realm. But to ſhew that of *Solomon* to be true, *The end of Mirth is Heavineſs*; five days had not yet run their courſe ſince the Coronation, when *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, the King's Grand-mother, made an exchange of this life with death. She was a very godly and virtuous Lady, and one who for her benefits to the Eſtate, deſerved with all honour to be commended to the perpetual memory of Poſterity: But her ever-living Works will ſo far ſet forth her praiſe, that the pains of any Writer will prove altogether needleſs. Yet notwithſtanding, omitting other things, it will ſavour ſomewhat of Ingratitude, if I ſhould not recount what ſhe hath conferred upon our Univerſities. She founded two Colledges at *Cambridge*; one dedicated to our Saviour CHRIST, and the other to St. *John* the Evangeliſt, and endowed them both with ſuch large Revenues, that at this time beſides Officers and Servants, there are about two hundred Students maintained in them: She alſo left Lands to both Univerſities, out of the Rents whereof, two Doctors, publick Profeſſors of Divinity, to this day do receive their Annual Stipends. She lies interred near her Son, in a fair Tomb of *Touch-ſtone*, whereon lies her Image of gilded Braſs.

His Marriage.

The death of Lady Margaret, *Counteſs of* Richmond.

ANNO DOM. 1510. *REG.* 2.

1510.

Empſon and Dudley.

HEnry the Seventh, Father to this our Eighth, ſome few years before his death had cauſed an inquiſition to be made throughout the Kingdom, of the breach of the Penal Statutes, ſaying, That *Laws were to no purpoſe, unleſs the fear of Puniſhment did force men to obſerve them.* But the Inquiſition proceeding ſo

1510. rigorouſly, that even the leaſt faults were puniſhed according to the Law, which inflicted a pecuniary Mulct; they that were touch'd (ſaith *Polydor Virgil*) cryed out, that this proceeded out of Covetouſneſs, rather than Severity. But the wiſer ſort conceived the King's intent to be, partly to curb the fierce mind of the People, bred up in faction; partly, that by theſe Fines he might not only weaken the rich, but alſo increaſe his own ſtrength, and fortifie himſelf againſt civil Attempts (whereof he had lately ſeen ſome ſparkles flie abroad) if ſo be any ſmothered coal ſhould happen to break out into a flame. What-ever the matter was, many there were, who by accuſing others ſought the King's favour, and enlarged their own Eſtates, amongſt whom two were chief; the one was called *Richard Empſon*, the other *Edmund Dudley*, both Lawyers, and both for having ſerved the King's turn, lately made Barons of the Exchequer. It is ſaid that *Empſon* was born at *Torceſter* in *Northampton-ſhire*, his Father was a Sievier. *Dudley*, though he were well deſcended, yet being not befriended by Fortune, long ſtrugled with Adverſity. But after they had ſome Months taken pains in theſe matters, both of them ariſe to that greatneſs, that there were few of the Nobility, that would not crouch to them, and be ambitious of their favour. Therefore it is not ſo much to be wondred at, if they grew exceeding wealthy: But this Wealth drew with it an Envy greater than it ſelf, which nevertheleſs did them little hurt during the life of *Henry* the Seventh, but afterwards caſt them both down as low as Envy could have wiſht. The King upon his death-bed commanded in his Will and Teſtament, that reſtitution ſhould be made to all, who had been wronged by the Exchequer. Whereupon infinite numbers flocking to the Court, and demanding reſtitution, there could not a fitter means be thought of to ſtop their mouthes, than by committing of *Empſon* and *Dudley* the occaſioners thereof, to the People, as Sacrifices to appeaſe their fury. They were therefore arraigned and condemned of high Treaſon. And theſe things were done preſently upon *Henry* the Eighth his coming to the Crown. So their goods being ſeized upon, they for a whole year endured the miſeries, that uſually accompany a Priſon, and yet were the Commons as eager againſt them as ever. Whence it ſhould firſt ariſe I know not, but ſuch a report there was, that the Queen had begged the poor mens Pardons. The Nobility diſdaining, that ſuch mean fellows had been heretofore ſo prevalent with their Prince, and the Commons being eaſily incited againſt them by ſome as eager enemies to them as themſelves, cried out, that they were cheated of their juſt revenge, and wearying the King with continual petitions for their death, he was in a manner forced to ſatisfie them. Whereupon on the ſeventeenth day of *Auguſt*, they were both publickly beheaded. Such was the end of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, who

who abounding with Wealth, and flouriſhing under their Prince's favour, while they ſet light by all things elſe, became a Sacrifice to the giddy multitude. And it may ſerve to teach us to uſe our power moderately, and to take heed how we give offence to that Beaſt with many heads (I mean the People) which being angred, and having once got the reins, rageth like a tumultuous Sea. *Dudley*, left behind him a Son named *John*, who, as if he had been heir to his Father's fortune, being created Duke of *Northumberland*, concluded his powerful life with the like unhappy end; leaving much Iſſue behind him, even to our time, but yet whereof the heirs male have long ſince failed. 1510.

ANNO DOM. 1511. *REG.* 3.

THis year, on New-years-day the Queen was delivered of a Son, Heir-apparant to this Crown; but he out-lived not the three and twentieth of the enſuing *February*, to the great grief of the King and Kingdom. 1511.

An Expedition into Africk.

About the ſame time there came Ambaſſadors from *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, who craved of the King his Son-in-Law fifteen hundred auxiliary Archers. He was then in hoſtility with the *Moors* inhabiting *Africk*. The King very willingly granted their requeſt; and having levied the full number, embarqued them for *Spain*, in four Ships of the Navy Royal, under the command of *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*. They were ſcarce arrived there, when news was brought, that a Peace being made, *Ferdinando* ſtood in no farther need of their aid. Yet every one was liberally paid, the General, and thoſe of greateſt note that accompanied him, were richly rewarded, and all being diſmiſſed, with many thanks, ſafely returned home.

Into Gueldres.

In their abſence, *Margaret* Ducheſs of *Savoy* (who was Daughter to the Emperor *Maximilian*, and Governeſs of the *Netherlands* under *Charles* the Infant of *Spain*) prevailed with our King for the like number of Archers, ſhe having then Wars with the Duke of *Gueldres*, againſt whom ſhe meant to employ them. Theſe men in the ſpace of five Months did many brave exploits at *Brimnoſt*, *Aske*, and *Venloo*, under the command of Sir *Edward Poynings*, a brave Souldier, and in great favour with his Prince. Of them fourteen hundred returned home, much commended and well rewarded; the fortune of War had cut off one hundred. Four Captains in regard of their valour were Knighted by the Infant *Charles*, afterwards Emperor; viz. *John Norton*, *John Fog*, *John Scot*, and *Thomas Lynd*.

Barton, a Pirat, taken.

The King of *Scots* had then War with the *Portugal*, under pretext whereof one *Andrew Barton*, a famous Pirat, took all Ships that coaſted either *England* or *Scotland*, affirming them always

1511. to be *Portugals*, of what Nation ſoever they were, or at leaſt fraught with *Portugal* Merchandiſe. The King ſent *Edward Howard*, Lord Admiral of *England*, and his Brother the Lord *Thomas Howard*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Surrey*, with one *John Hopton* to take this Rover. When they had once found him out, after a long and bloody fight they took him alive (but mortally wounded) with his two Ships, and all his companions that ſurvived the fight, and brought them to *London*.

ANNO DOM. 1512. *REG.* 4.

1512. AS yet *Henry* had no War with any forein Prince, neither did the wiſer ſort wiſh that he ſhould have any. But he, a young King, in the heat of one and twenty years, was tranſported with a vehement deſire of War, which (ſaith the Proverb) is ſweet to them that never taſted of it. Although he had about a year or two before made a League with *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, yet he was eaſily intreated by Pope *Julius* to renounce this Confederacy. This Pope, more like to that *Ceſar*, whoſe Name he bare, than *Peter*, from whom he would fain derive his Succeſſion, that like another *Nero*, ſitting ſtill he might from on high be a Spectator, while the whole World was on fire, had written Letters to our King, wherein he intreated his aſſiſtance towards the ſuppreſſion of the *French*; *Who, without fear of God or man* (theſe were the pretended Cauſes) *had not only ſacrilegiouſly laid hold on the Revenues of the Church, had cauſed Cardinal* William *to uſurp the Papacy, had upheld* Alphonſo *of* Ferara, *and the* Bentivogli *in Rebellion againſt him; but had alſo farther decreed, to make* Italy *the Theatre of his Tyranny. Wherefore he conjured him by the Love of our Saviour, by the Piety of his Anceſtors, whoſe aids were never wanting when the Church ſtood in need, and by the faſt tye of Filial Obedience, that he would enter into the* Holy League *of the Eſtates of* Italy, *who had made choice of him for their General.* Jealouſie, and Reverence to the See of *Rome* ſo prevailed with him, that he eaſily condeſcended to the Pope's requeſt. Yet that he might ſome way colour his action, he would needs interpoſe himſelf as Umpire between the Pope and the *French*, whom by his Ambaſſadors he intreats to lay aſide Arms; withal not obſcurely threatning, that if he did not ſo, he intended to undertake the defence of the Pope againſt him, the common diſturber of the peace of Chriſtendom. The *French* ſet light by this. Wherefore War is proclaimed by a Herald, the *French* King commanded to part with the Kingdom of *France*, and the Duchies of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, which he without right unjuſtly uſurped. Then entring into League with *Maximilian* the Emperor, the *Arragonois*, and the Pope, they conſult of aſſaulting the *French* with joynt forces.

War with France.

forces. The *Arragonois* invites us into *Spain*, that thence we might invade *France*, promiſing beſides certain Troops of Horſe, ſtore of Artillery, Wagons for carriage, Munition, and many other things neceſſary for ſuch an Expedition. Our King relying on his Father-in-Law his promiſes, levies a great Army, whereof he ſhips one part for *Spain*, and employs the other by Sea. *Edward Howard*, Lord Admiral, had charge of the Sea forces, who fought with the *French* Fleet in the Bay of *Bretaigne*. In which Fight there was no memorable thing done, beſides the combat of the two great Ships, (the one having ſeven hundred *Engliſh* in it, under the command of Sir *Thomas Knevet*; the other nine hundred *French*, under *Primauget*, a *Briton*.) Theſe Ships being both faſt grapled, after a long fight fell both on fire, and were utterly conſumed; not a man being ſaved, of whom it might be learned, whether this fire happened by chance, or were purpoſely kindled by a forced deſpair. Our other Army, under the command of the Lord *Thomas Gray*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, amongſt ten thouſand tall *Engliſh* Souldiers, had five hundred *Germans*, under one *Guint*, a *Fleming*. This Army landed in *Biſcay*, where they ſpent ſome Months in expectation of due performances from the *Arragonois*, who feeding them with promiſes only, tempered the heat of our Men, who were very eager upon the march for *France*. It happened that *Gaſton* of *Foix*, Competitor for the Kingdom with *John* King of *Navarr*, dyed about the ſame time. The *Navarrois* had promiſed *Ferdinand* ſome aids toward this War. But now fearing no Competitor, he (whether out of inconſtancy, or that he thought his affairs ſo required) ſecretly by his Agents makes a League with the *French*. Upon this *Ferdinand* turns his Arms upon the *Navarrois*, and ſtrains all his ſtrings to draw our men to the ſame attempt; but the Marquis of *Dorſet* pleaded his Commiſſion, beyond which he could not with ſafety proceed. The *Navarrois* was utterly unprovided, and the Nobility ſo divided into the factions of the *Egremonts* and the *Beaumonts*, that he could do nothing. It was bruited that two mighty Kings came againſt him with no leſs forces, what ſhould he do? To hope from *France* were vain; the *French* were too far off, and deeply engaged in other Wars. At the approach of the *Spaniard* he quits his Kingdom, and with his Wife and Children flying over the *Pyrenean* Mountains, makes *Bern* his receptacle. *Ferdinand* having thus gotten a new Kingdom, caſts off all farther thought of *France*, only intending the confirmation of his Conqueſt; to which end he intreats of *Henry* the help of our Forces raiſed for *France*, and prevails; but to no purpoſe. For the *Engliſh* having their Bodies inflamed with the intolerable heat of a ſtrange Climate, and the drinking of ſtrong Wines, dropt down every where; inſomuch that we loſt about a thouſand (ſome ſay eighteen hundred) men in an inſtant. Wherefore impatient of farther delay, they force their Com-

1512.

A fruitleſs Voyage into Spain.

The Spaniard *ſeiſeth on* Navarr.

1512. Commanders to ſet ſail homeward. The King was mightily enraged at their return, inſomuch that he once thought to have puniſhed them for their obſtinacy: But the multitude of Delinquents proved a pardon to all. They did forth in *May*, and returned a little before *Chriſtmaſs*.

ANNO DOM. 1513. *REG.* 5.

1513. ABout the beginning of this year the King aſſembled the high Court of Parliament, wherein War againſt *France* was determined, and a mighty maſs of Money granted by the Commons. Whereupon, in the very beginning of the Spring a Fleet is ſet forth, conſiſting of two and forty Men of War, beſides Victuallers, and leſſer Veſſels. The Lord Admiral, who had the charge of this Fleet, too too eagerly hunting after Honour, by his raſhneſs fruſtrated the deſigns of ſo goodly preparations. He attempts to land in the Haven near adjoyning to *Breſt*, where ſtriving in perſon to ſet foot firſt in the Enemies Countrey, he, with a Spear born over-board and drowned, was the only man of all that Fleet that came ſhort home. He therein performed rather the part of a private Souldier, than of a Commander. For his death brought back this headleſs Fleet into *England*. Where the King makes the Lord *Thomas Howard* Admiral, in the place of his deceaſed younger Brother; exhorting him, by employing his ſervice for his Countries honour, to revenge his Brother's inglorious death. This new Admiral with great ſpeed brings his Navy out of Harbour, and ſcouring up and down the Seas, ſtrook ſuch a terrour into the *French*, that not ſo much as a Fiſher-boat durſt peep abroad. At laſt he lands in *Whitſand-Bay*, ranſacks all the Countrey thereabout, and without reſiſtance returns ſafe to his Ships.

The Lord Admiral drowned.

In the mean time the King having raiſed a mighty Army, arrives at *Calais* the laſt of *June*, with a Fleet of four hundred Sail. The one and twentieth of *July* he marcheth with all his forces into the *French* Territory; and having ſent ſome Enſigns before to beſiege *Terovenne* a City in *Picardy*, he takes his way thither, intending in perſon to ſit down before it with all the ſtrength of his Army. By the way he meets the *French* near *Dernom*: They at firſt ſeem reſolved to fight; but whether they diſtruſted their own ſtrength, and ſo purpoſely declined an unequal combat; or (as by our ſide it is reported) that our Ordnance being conveniently placed diſordered them, and that ſo they betook themſelves to flight, as if it had been all one for us to *ſee* them, and *conquer* them, away they went, and could not any where afterward be diſcried by us. So without any let our Army came before *Terovenne*. This City had (according to the relation of our Writers) four

Terovenne beſieged.

four thouſand Defendants, whereof ſix hundred were Horſe. The place being ſo well fortified, it had been no hard matter to have defended it againſt a mighty Army, if ſo be they had been accordingly provided of other neceſſaries; but they were wanting. Wherefore they certified their King to what an exigent they were brought. But he had his hands full elſewhere. For the *Spaniard* had made an inroad into *Aquitain* and *Navarre*; and the *Suiſſes* having lately overthrown *Tremoville* at *Novarr*, had now coopt him up in *Dijon* in *Burgoigne*; inſomuch that his Forces being by theſe occaſions diſtracted, he himſelf had not under his Colours above twenty thouſand Foot (the moiety whereof were *Lanſquenets*, under the command of the Duke of *Gueldres*) and two thouſand five hundred Launces. With theſe he comes to *Amiens*, that the hope of Succours, he being ſo near, might encourage the Defendants. For it much concerned him that the Siege ſhould be drawn out at length. In our Army were forty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, ſo that there was no likelihood of doing any good againſt us. Neither indeed did the *French* intend (eſpecially at that time) to hazard the fortune of a Battel, the loſs whereof, in the judgment of the more expert, would have been accompanied with no leſs than the loſs of the Kingdom, which would eaſily have followed our Victory. The *French* King therefore ſitting ſtill at *Amiens*, leſt he might ſeem to neglect ſuch a City (the danger whereof did throughly grieve him) ſends ſome Troops toward *Therovenne*, with inſtructions to put into the City eighty Horſe-men compleatly armed (but without Horſes, the beſieged deſiring no other aid) if poſſibly it could be effected, as it eaſily was, by reaſon of the negligence of our Centinels. For indeed the deſuetude of a long Peace had made our men altogether unapt for War. But the indiſcretion of the *French* far ſurpaſſed our negligence. For whereas with the ſame hazard they might have victualled the beſieged, and furniſhed them with other neceſſaries which they wanted; deſiring (but too late) to amend this errour, they would needs effect it the ſame way as before. But our men had by this time raiſed a new Fortification to hinder their entrance, and had withal placed in ambuſh ſtore of Horſe, with fifteen thouſand Foot, to cut them off in their retreat. The *French* came near the Walls, but finding all entrance debarred, returned without ſuſpition of any intended miſchief. They had not gone far, when ſome (as if they had been out of their Enemies reach) impatient of the heat, caſt off their Helmets, ſome fell a drinking, moſt leave their Horſes of ſervice, and for their eaſe mount on little Nags. Our men charge them unawares, and without any reſiſtance made, put them to rout. The *French* in this encounter loſt three hundred Horſe. There were taken Priſoners, *Lewis de Longueville* Marquis of *Rotelin*, *Badi*, *Clermont d'Anjou*, *Buſſy d'Amboiſe*, *Bayard*, *La Fayet*, and *Paliſſe* (who eſcapt out of Priſon)

1513.

The Battel of Spurs.

1513.

Priſon) with many others. It was then the opinion of moſt men, that this Victory (if we had but made due uſe of it) laid an eaſie way for us to the Conqueſt of *France*: For the *French* were ſo affrighted with the news of this overthrow, that they thought of nothing but flying; and the King himſelf with tears in his eyes bewailing his hard fortune, caſt about for ſome place of refuge, and determined to poſt into baſe *Bretaigne*. But we looking no farther than *Therovenne*, brought our Priſoners into the Camp, and without farther proſcution left the Enemies to their fears. The *French* call this *The Battel of Spurs*; becauſe they truſted more to their Heels, than their Swords. The *Therovennois* after this overthrow deſpairing of Succour came to a Parley; and by the advice of their King, yield up the City the three and twentieth of *Auguſt*, upon condition, *That the Souldiers might depart with Bag and Baggage, Colours flying, and Drums beating; and the Citizens permitted to carry away their goods.*

Therovenne *yielded.*

A few days before the City was yielded *Maximilian* the Emperour came to our Camp, and (which deſerves to be recorded to the eternal honour of our Nation) taking for pay a hundred Crowns a day, beſides what was diſburſed among his Souldiers, diſdained not to ſerve under our Colours, wearing the Croſs of *England*, and a party-coloured Roſe, the uſual Cognizance of our *Engliſh* Warfare. But he rather came to be a Spectator, than a Partaker in the danger. Wherefore when he ſaw into what ſtraights our King was likely to drive the *French*, being weak, if he would preſs hard upon him, and pierce farther into the Kingdom; although he were a profeſt Enemy to the *French*, yet was he jealous of our proſperous proceeding; and therefore by all means perſwaded *Henry*, *To diſmantle* Therovenne, *and thence to proceed to the Siege of* Tournay: *He blamed him* (not without juſt cauſe) *for his late ſetting forth, Summer being firſt well-near ſpent, Winter was now at hand, when it would not quit coſt to maintain ſuch an Army, good deſigns being not then to be put in execution*: He told him, *That* Therovenne *was ſo far from him, that it could not be kept without great difficulty; therefore he ſhould do well to diſmantle it, that it might not hereafter ſerve for a Bulwark to the the Enemy*: *That* Tournay *was a* French *City, but (like an Iſland with the Sea) ſurrounded with* Flanders *and* Hainault, *and far divided from the reſt of* France: *True it was, that it was well ſtored with inhabitants, and not meanly fortified; but that there was no other Garriſon, than of Citizens, and thoſe he ſhould find effeminate; and for Proviſion, that they had none*: *He ſhould therefore make ſpeed and come on them unawares, and with a few days ſiege force them to yield*: *That the* French *King, if he intended to ſuccour them, muſt firſt march through all* Hainault, *and paſs over two or three great Rivers, amongſt which were the* Eſcaut *and the* Scarp: *That the Souldiers ſhould find good booties there, and the King himſelf the triumph of a moſt aſſured Conqueſt*: *That*

Maximilian *the Emperor ſerveth under King* Henry.

1513.

That the addition of ſuch a City would be no mean increaſe of his Dominions, and ſo much the leſs care to be taken of it; for as much as it would be as eaſie for him to keep it in obedience, as it was for the French *for the ſpace of ſo many years to defend it, being placed amidſt ſo many Enemies, that ſtill had a greedy eye over it.* King *Henry* by this time had ſo much of War, that he began to be weary of the toil thereof, and to caſt his mind on the pleaſures of the Court. Wherefore (although he wanted not Counſellors for the beſt) he followed the Emperour's advice, as being the more eaſie. The *Flemings* (who begged it of the King) had leave to raſe the Walls of *Therovenne*, to fill the Ditches, and to burn all the Buildings except the Church, and the Chanons houſes, which they (in regard of the diſſentions uſual to bordering Nations) very gladly performed.

Therovenne being thus taken and deſtroyed, away they march with all ſpeed to *Tournay*, endeavouring by their celerity to prevent the fame of their coming. But the Citizens ſuſpecting ſome ſuch enterprize, had fortified themſelves as well as the ſhortneſs of time would permit them; and the Peaſants thereabouts bring all their goods into the City, as to a place of ſafeguard. The City was of no great circuit, yet at the beginning of the Siege it contained fourſcore thouſand People: by reaſon whereof Victuals began quickly to fail them, and they could no way hope for relief. The *French* King was far off, they had no Garriſon, the Citizens bad Soldiers, two great Princes had begirt the Town with fifty thouſand men; but they had an Enemy within, called Famine, more cruel and inſupportable, than both. So having for ſome few days held out the Siege, the nine and Twentieth of *September* their lives being granted them, they yield; and to ſave themſelves from ſpoil, pay a hundred thouſand Crowns. The King makes them ſwear Fealty to him, and appoints Sir *Edward Poynings*, a Knight of the Garter, their Governour. Next he gives order for ſtore of Warlike proviſion, puts in a ſmall Garriſon, and builds a Cittadel for the confirmation of his Conqueſt. Neither amongſt theſe Politick affairs did he neglect thoſe of the Church. For the Biſhop being proſcribed, he conferrs the See with all the revenues, upon *Thomas Wolſey*, of whoſe firſt riſing and immoderate Power we ſhall have much occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

The Siege of Tournay.

Tournay *yielded.*

Wolſey *Biſhop of* Tournay.

All things being thus ordered, becauſe Winter came on apace, he began to bethink himſelf of returning with his Army into *England*. This thought ſo far pleaſed him, that having been abſent ſcarce four Months he took Ship, and about the end of *October* came home triumphing in the Glory of a double Conqueſt.

By the way he was entertained with the news of another Victory, the Lord *Howard* Earl of *Surrey* having under his Fortune

1513. *The King of Scots ſlain.*

ſlain the King of *Scots*. The King of *France* being encumbred with many Wars, had conjured *James* the Fourth King of *Scots*, *By the ancient Laws of Amity, and the late League made between them, that He would not forſake him, entangled in ſo many difficulties. If He regarded not his Friend's caſe, yet he ſhould at leaſt look to Himſelf; for whom it would not be ſafe to ſuffer a bordering Nation, always at enmity with Him, by ſuch additions to ariſe to that height of power. The King of* England *buſied with a forein War was now abſent, and with Him the flower of the* Engliſh *Chivalry: He ſhould therefore forthwith take Arms, and try to recover* Berwick, *an eſpecial Town of the* Scottiſh *Dominions, but for many years with-held by the* Engliſh; *He would eaſily be victorious, if He would but make uſe of this occaſion ſo happily offered. It could not be, but this War would be for His Honour, and profitable to His Friend, if not to Himſelf: He ſhould thereby alſo make known to His Enemies, that the* Scottiſh *Arms were not to be contemned, whoſe former Victories a long, and (to them) hurtful Peace had obſcured, and buried in oblivion among the* Engliſh. *As for the charges of it, He need not be troubled, for that he would afford Him fifty thouſand Crowns towards the providing of Munition and Ordnance.*

Theſe Reaſons ſo prevailed with the young King covetous of glory, that notwithſtanding he had lately made a League with our King, whoſe Siſter he had married, and her vehement diſſuaſions, he proclaimed War againſt *Henry*, which proved fatal to him, bloody to his, and the cauſe of many enſuing calamities. So having raiſed a great Army, he breaks into our Marches, and beſiegeth *Norham*-Caſtle belonging to the Biſhop of *Durham*, the which having held out ſix days was at laſt yielded unto him. Thence he removes his Camp to *Berwick*, waſting all the Countrey as he marcht with Fire and Sword. The news whereof are brought unto them, to whom the government of the Kingdom was committed in the abſence of the King; and a levy being made through all the North parts of the Kingdom, *Alnewike* is appointed the rendezvous, where all the Troops ſhould meet at a ſet day, that thence they might ſet forward againſt the Enemy, under the conduct of the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surrey*. Among the firſt (to his Father's great joy) comes the Earl's Son *Thomas* Lord Admiral, leading a veteran Troop of five thouſand men of tryed valour, and haughty in regard of their former Naval Victories obtained under the command of this young Lord. After him came the Lords *Dacres, Clifford, Scrope, Latimer, Conyers, Lumley*, and *Ogle*; beſides Sir *Nicholas Appleyard*, Maſter of the Ordnance, Sir *W. Percie*, Sir *William Sidney*, Sir *William Bulmer*, Sir *John Stanley*, Sir *William Molineux*, Sir *Thomas Strangwayes*, Sir *Richard Tempeſt*, and many other Knights.

Theſe ſitting in Council, thought it beſt to ſend an Herald to the King, to expoſtulate with him concerning the outrages committed: to complain, that *He had without all right or reaſon ſpoiled the Countrey*

of

of a Prince not only Allied unto him, but alſo his Confederate; and therefore to certifie him, that they were ready by Battel to revenge the breach of League, if ſo be he durſt await their coming but a few days, in a ground that might be fitting for the meeting of both Armies. The King makes anſwer by writing; wherein *He retorts the violation of the League, calling God to witneſs, that King* Henry *had firſt by his many injuries ſhown evident ſigns of an alienated mind. For the* Engliſh *(he pretended) robbed all along the Marches of* Scotland, *without reſtitution or puniſhment:* Andrew Barton, *a ſtout and honeſt man, had been unjuſtly ſlain by the King's command; and one* Heron, *who had murthered* Robert Car *a* Scottiſh *Noble-man, vaunted himſelf openly in* England, *the King taking no notice of ſo heinous a fact: Of theſe things he had often complained by his Ambaſſadors, but without effect. There was therefore no other way for him, but to betake himſelf to Arms for the common defence of himſelf, and his Kingdom, againſt the King's injuſtice.* As for the meeting, he ſignified that he accepted of it, and appointed both time and place for the Battel. 1513.

Neither party failed the prefixed day. The *Scot* ſeeks to animate his men by taking away all hope of ſafeguard by flight, commanding them (I know not how wiſely, but the event ſhewed how unhappily for them) to forſake their Horſes, foraſmuch as they were to truſt to their Hands, not to their Horſes heels; and by his own example ſhewing what he would have done, he alights, and prepares himſelf to fight on foot. The reſt doing the like, the whole Army encountred us on foot, to whom, after a long and bloody fight, the fortune of the Victory inclined. The *Scots* had two and twenty pieces of great Ordnance, which ſtood them in no ſtead. For our men climbing up a Hill where the Enemy ſate hovering over us, the ſhot paſſed over our heads. Our chief ſtrength were our Archers, who ſo inceſſantly played upon four Wings of *Scots* (for the King divided his Army into five Battalions) that were but lightly armed, that they forced them to flie and leave their fellows, who yet ſtood ſtoutly to it. But the main Battel, where the King was, conſiſting of choice men, and better armed againſt our ſhot, was not ſo eaſily defeated. For the *Scots*, although they being incloſed as it were in a toyl, were forced to fight in a ring, made moſt deſperate reſiſtance, and that without doubt ſo much the rather, becauſe they not only heard their King encouraging them, but ſaw him alſo manfully fighting in the foremoſt Ranks, until having received wound upon wound he fell down dead. They ſay there fell with him the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* his natural Son, two other Biſhops, two Abbots, twelve Earls, ſeventeen Barons, and of common Souldiers eight thouſand. The number of the Captives is thought to have been as many. They loſt all their Ordnance, and almoſt all their Enſigns: inſomuch that the Victory was to be eſteemed a very great one, but that it was Flodden-*Field.*

1513. ſomewhat bloody to us in the loſs of fifteen hundred. This Field was fought the ninth of *September*, near *Flodon*-Hill, upon a riſing Bank called *Piperdi*, not far from *Bramſton*.

I am not ignorant, that the *Scottiſh* Writers conſtantly affirm the King was not ſlain in the field, but having ſaved himſelf by flight, was afterwards killed by his own people; and that the Body which was brought into *England* was not the King's, but of one *Alexander Elfinſton*, a young Gentleman reſembling the King both in viſage and ſtature, whom the King (that he might delude thoſe that purſued him, and might as with his own preſence animate them that fought elſewhere) had cauſed with all tokens of Royalty to be armed and apparrelled like himſelf. But to let paſs the great number of Nobility, whoſe carcaſes found about him ſufficiently teſtifie, that they guarded their true King, and conſequently that the counterfeit fought elſe-where: It is manifeſt that his Body was known by many of the Captives, who certainly affirmed, that it could be no other than the King's, although by the multitude of wounds it were much defaced. For his Neck was opened to the midſt with a wide wound, his left Hand almoſt cut off in two places, did ſcarce hang to his Arm, and the Archers had ſhot him in many parts of his body.

Thus was *James* the Fourth King of *Scots* taken away in the flower of his youth, who truly in regard of his Princely Virtues deſerved a longer life. For he had a quick wit, and a majeſtical countenance: he was of a great ſpirit, courteous, mild, liberal; and ſo merciful, that it was obſerved he was often forced againſt his will to puniſh offendors. Theſe virtues endeared him to his People in his life time, and made them ſo much lament the loſs of him being dead, that (as all Hiſtorians report) they ſeemed to have loſt only him in the whole ſucceſſion of their Kings; which ſufficiently argues the improbability of the Subjects pretended Parricide.

But he had not fallen into this miſery, if he would have hearkned to the advice of thoſe, who perſwaded him to have returned home before the Fight, contented with what he had already performed in the Expedition: that he ſhould not upon ſo weak forces hazard the eſtate of his Kingdom: he had won glory enough, and abundantly fulfilled his Friends requeſt. But the *French* Agent, and ſome of the King's Mignons corrupted by the *French* urging to the contrary, this haughty Prince, even otherwiſe very deſirous to give proof of his valour, was eaſily perſwaded to await our great Forces already marching. His Body (if at leaſt that were his, and not *Elfinſton*'s) being encloſed in Lead, and brought into *England*, was by our King's (I will not ſay cruel, but certainly inhumane) command caſt in ſome by-corner or other, without due Funeral Rites, ſaying, that *It was a due puniſhment for one who had perjuroufly broken his League*; whereas if

if we examine the premiſſes, we ſhall find he wanted not probable pretexts for what he undertook. 1513.

ANNO DOM. 1514. *REG.* 6.

THE next year having begun his courſe, *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey* (he who had been victorious over the *Scots*) was created Duke of *Norfolk*, the title and dignity of his Anceſtors. *John* his Father deriving his pedigree from *Thomas de Brotherton*, Son to King *Edward* the Firſt; the *Segraves* and the *Mowbrays* (who had been all Dukes of *Norfolk*) enjoyed this Honour by right of Inheritance. But becauſe in *Boſworth*-Field (where here he was ſlain) he took part with the Uſurper, both he and his Poſterity were deprived of that Honour. This *Thomas* dying in the year 1524, his Son of the ſame name ſucceeded him, who deceaſed in the year 1554. His Son *Henry* (a young Lord of great hopes) his Father then living was beheaded towards the end of this King's Reign. He left Iſſue *Thomas* the laſt Duke of *Norfolk* (who alſo loſt his Head the year 1572) and *Henry* (at nurſe when his Father dyed) a very learned and wiſe man, whom King *James* (no good man repining thereat) created Earl of *Northampton*. *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* had three Sons that ſurvived him, *Philip*, *Thomas*, and *William*. *Philip* Earl of *Surrey* (and by his Mother, of *Arundel*) condemned the year 1589, and after dying in priſon, left Iſſue *Thomas*, then a little one, who by King *James* his favour ſucceeded his Father in his Honours. His Uncle *Thomas* out of the ſame fountain of Royal Goodneſs was created Earl of *Suffolk*, with addition of the dignity of Lord Chamberlain. Beſide theſe, this Family hath *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Admiral of *England*, Nephew by the Lord *William* his Father, to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, that famous Triumpher over the *Scots*. This is he, who in emulation of his Grandfather's glory, in the year 1588, under the fortune of Queen *Elizabeth*, moſt happily overthrew that vainly called *Invincible Armada* of *Spain*. *Thomas* alſo Viſcount *Bindon* is derived from *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, by his Son the Lord *Thomas*. So this noble Houſe lately afflicted, now gloriouſly flouriſhing, hath four Earls and a Viſcount, all brave and famous men, and of whom there will be occaſion of much to be ſpoken hereafter: I therefore thought it good in brief to ſet down their Genealogy, leſt I ſhould trouble the Reader with too often repetition of their Race upon each mention of the Name. At the time of this Duke's creation, others were alſo honored with new Titles; *Charles Brandon* made Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Charles Somerſet* Earl of *Worceſter*, and *Edward Stanley* Lord *Mountegle*, Sir *William Brandon* Standard-bearer to *Henry* the Seventh in *Boſworth*-Field, and there ſlain by the hand of

1514.

The deſcent and Honours of the Howards.

Charles Brandon, *Duke of* Suffolk.

1514. of *Richard* the Third, was Father to this new Duke of *Suffolk*, of whoſe Education (he then a little one) King *Henry* having obtained the Crown was very careful, and made him rather a Companion than a Servant to the young Prince, of whoſe houſhold he was. The Prince ſo greatly favoured him, partly for his Father's deſerts, chiefly for his own, that he being afterward King, created him Viſcount *Liſle*, and intending (at leaſt many were ſo perſuaded) to give him to Wife the Lady *Mary* his Siſter, who afterward was married to the King of *France*; thought it firſt good to honour him with the Duchy of *Suffolk*, which this year at the feaſt of *Candlemas* was performed. But how he was fruſtrated of his hopes, and afterward beyond all hope enjoyed her, ſhall be declared hereafter. *Somerſet*, the natural Son of *Henry* of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, the laſt Duke of *Somerſet*, took his ſurname of his Father's Honour; whereas he ſhould have been called *Beaufort*, or rather *Plantagenet*, according to the ancient name of our *Engliſh* Kings: He being Couſin-german to *Henry* the Seventh (whoſe Mother was *Margaret*, Siſter to the Duke of *Somerſet*) and famous for his many Virtues, of which that King was a quick and exact Judge, and was by him made Lord High Chamberlain of *England*. But having behaved himſelf very valiantly in this laſt Expedition againſt the *French* (wherein *Guicciardin* untruly reporteth him to have been ſlain) *Henry* the Eighth added this new Title (which his Poſterity ſtill enjoyes) to his ancient Honours. He was great Grandfather by his Son *Henry* and Nephew *William*, to *Edward* the now Earl, who being one of His Majeſties moſt Honorable Privy Council, and Lord Privy Seal, doth by his virtues much more ennoble his ſo noble Anceſtors.

Charles Somerſet, *Earl of* Worceſter.

The *French* King hearing of the overthrow of the *Scots*, perceiving himſelf deprived of ſuch a Friend and Confederate, ſeeing his Kingdom on fire about his ears, and none to rely upon but himſelf, determined (if ſo he might fairly and with credit) to renew his League with us. Pope *Julius* the Second, the Incendiary of Chriſtendom was lately dead, and the *French* King himſelf was now a Widower. He therefore intends to try whether by marrying the Lady *Mary* the King's Siſter, he might ſecure himſelf from War on our ſide, and by ſo near alliance gain the aſſured Friendſhip of ſo potent a Prince. *Leo* the Tenth ſucceeding *Julius* the Second, did openly ſide with the *French* againſt the *Spaniard*. He therefore earneſtly ſoliciting a reconciliation, a Peace was concluded profitable to the *French*, acceptable to us, and on the ninth of *October* the Nuptials were with great pomp ſolemnized. The *French* King was well ſtricken in years, his Wife a tender Virgin of ſome ſixteen or eighteen years of age, but wonderful beautiful. Beſides the forementioned reaſons, the deſire of Children (for he had no Male Iſſue) on his part, on her part the good of the publick weal, the authority of her Brother ſo willing, and (which

Peace with France.

The Lady Mary *the King's Siſter, married to* Lewis *the Twelfth, King of* France.

(which bears chiefeſt ſway in a Womans heart) the ſupremacy of Honour in the title of a Queen, were motives to match ſo uneven a Pair. But many not without cauſe were perſuaded, that ſhe had rather have made choice of *Brandon* for her Husband (ſo her power had been anſwerable to her will) than the greateſt Monarch in the World: neither was it long before ſhe enjoyed her deſire. For the King (as it often happens to elderly Men, that apply themſelves to young Women) dyed the laſt of *February*, having ſcarce three Months ſurvived his Wedding. The Queen might then lawfully, according to the Articles of agreement, return into *England*, which ſhe earneſtly deſiring, the Duke of *Suffolk* was ſent to conduct her; who becoming a freſh Suitor unto her, ſo far eaſily prevailed, that before their departure from *Paris*, they were there privately married. The Marriage was afterward by the King's conſent celebrated at *Greenwich*, the thirteenth day of *May* of the enſuing year. 1514.

And now we muſt ſpeak ſomething of *Wolſey*'s ſudden and (for theſe our times) incredible riſing, who having (as we have related before) been inveſted in the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, was within the year preferred to two other Biſhopricks. That venerable Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *William Smith*, was lately deceaſed; who beſide many other Monuments of his Piety, having begun in *Oxford* a College for Students, called *Brazen-noſe*-College, was immaturely taken away before he could finiſh ſo good a work. So the See being vacant, it is conferred on *Wolſey*, now high in the King's favour. He was of very mean parentage (a Butcher's Son) and *Ipſwich* (a Town in *Suffolk*, but of *Norwich* Dioceſs) where he afterward laid the foundation of a ſtately College, was the place of his Birth. He was brought up at *Oxford*, in *Magdalen*-College, and afterward became Maſter of the Free-School thereto belonging. Among other Scholars, the Sons of the Marqueſs of *Dorſet* were committed to his truſt, and for his care over them, the Parſonage of *Limington* in *Somerſetſhire* (no very mean one) was beſtowed on him. As ſoon as he had ſet footing there, he was very diſgracefully entertained by Sir *Amias Powlet*, who clapt him in the Stocks, a puniſhment not uſually inflicted upon any but Beggars and baſe people. What the matter was that ſo exaſperated him againſt *Wolſey*, a man not of leaſt account, I know not: This I know, that *Wolſey* being afterward made Cardinal, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, ſo grievouſly puniſhed this injury, that Sir *Amias Powlet* was fain to dance attendance at *London* ſome years, and by all manner of obſequiouſneſs to curry favour with him. There remains to this day a ſufficient teſtimony hereof in a Building over the Gate of the *Middle Temple* in *London*, built by the Knight at the time of his attendance there, and decked round about very ſumptuouſly with the Cardinal's Arms, hoping thereby ſomewhat to allay the wrath of the incenſed *Cardinal Wolſey.*

1514. incenſed Prelate. But theſe things were long after this year. *Wolſey*, whether that he could not brook this diſgrace, or bearing a mind that lookt beyond this poor Benefice, left it, and became domeſtick Chaplain to Sir *John Naſant* Treaſurer of *Calais*, by whoſe means he was taken notice of by *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, a man that knew rightly how to judge of good wits. He finding this young man to be very ſprightful, of Learning ſufficient, and very active in diſpatch of Affairs, ſo highly commended him to King *Henry* the Seventh, (who relied much upon *Fox*'s faith and wiſdom) that he thought it good forthwith to employ him in Affairs of great moment. What need many words? he ſo far pleaſed the King, that in ſhort time he became a great man, and was firſt preferr'd to the Deanry of *Lincoln*, and then made the King's Almoner. But *Henry* the Eighth, a young Prince, coming to the Crown, was wholly taken with his ſmooth tongue and pliable behaviour. For when all the reſt of his friends adviſed him to ſit every day in perſon at the Council-Table, that ſo by experience and daily practice he might reap Wiſdom, and to accuſtom himſelf to the managing of Affairs of Eſtate: *Wolſey* adviſed him to follow his Pleaſures; ſaying, *That his Youth would not be able to brook their tedious Conſultations; every Age of man had its Seaſons, and Delights agreeable. They did not do well, that would force the King to act an Old man before his time, Youth being utterly averſe from wrinckled Severity. It would come to paſs hereafter, if God were ſo pleaſed, that what was now troubleſom to him, would not be diſagreeable to riper years, nay prove perhaps a great pleaſure. Until that time came, he ſhould enjoy the preſent, and not by hearkning to others needleſs perſuaſions, any way interrupt the courſe of that felicity which the largeneſs of his Dominions would eaſily afford him. He ſhould hawk and hunt, and as much as him liſt uſe honeſt Recreations. If ſo be he did at any time deſire ſuddenly to become an Old man by intermedling with Old mens Cares, he ſhould not want thoſe* (meaning himſelf) *that would in the evening in one or two words relate unto him the effect of a whole days Conſultation.* This ſpeech hitting ſo pat with the King's humour, made *Wolſey* ſo powerful, that whereas the King before favoured him as much as any other; he only was now in favour with and next the King, with whom there was nothing to be done but by him. For he was the man that was made choice of, who like another *Mercury* ſhould paſs between this our *Jove*, and the Senate of the leſſer Gods, offering their petitions to him, and to them returning his pleaſure therein. Wherefore he was even at the firſt ſworn of the Privy Council, and beſides the late collation of *Tournay*, upon the death of *Smith* he was alſo made Biſhop of *Lincoln*. In the government of which Church he had not fully ſpent ſix months, before he was tranſlated from *Lincoln* to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, then vacant by the death of Cardinal *Bambridge* at *Rome*. Shortly after, (that I may at

at once ſhew all his Honours) *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* leaving the place, he was by the King made Lord Chancellor of *England*, and by the Pope Legate *à latere*. Yet he ſtayed not there; but as if the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and the Chancellorſhip of *England* had not been ſufficient to maintain the port of a Cardinal, beſides many other Livings he procured of the King the Abbey of St. *Albans*, and the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*. And not content with theſe, leaving *Bath* and *wells*, he addeth the Biſhoprick of *Durham* to that of *York*, and then leaving *Durham* ſeizeth on *Wincheſter*, at that time of greateſt revenue of any Biſhoprick in *England*. You now ſee *Wolſey* in his height, rich, his Prince's Favourite, and from the bottom raiſed to the top of Fortunes Wheel. What became of him afterward you ſhall know hereafter. 1514.

ANNO DOM. 1515. *REG.* 7.

THe League lately made with *Lewis* the *French* King, was confirmed by *Francis* his Succeſſor, and publiſhed by Proclamation in *London*, the ninth day of *April*. 1515.

ANNO DOM. 1516. *REG.* 8.

BUt the *French* King having taken into his protection the young King of *Scots*, ſent *John Stuart* Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland*, to be Governour both of the King's Perſon and Kingdom. The firſt thing this Duke undertook, was, either to put to death or baniſh thoſe, whom he any way ſuſpected to favour the *Engliſh*. Inſomuch, that the Queen Dowager (who by this time was married to *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*) forced to ſave her ſelf by flight, came into *England* to her Brother, with whom ſhe ſtayed at *London* a whole year, the Earl her Husband after a month or two without leave returning into *Scotland*. King *Henry* being diſpleaſed at theſe *French* practices, deals underhand with the Emperour *Maximilian* (with whom the *French* then contended for the Duchy of *Milan*) and lends him a great ſumm of Money, whereby he might hire the *Suiſſes* to aid him in the expelling the *French* out of *Italy*. But the Emperour, although he had levied a ſufficient Army, returned home without doing any thing. He was indeed accounted a wiſe Prince, but unhappy in the managing of his Affairs: whether it were that Fortune waiwardly oppoſed him, or that he was naturally ſlow in the execution of his well-plotted Deſigns. But ſhortly after he intends a ſecond tryal of his Fortune. Wherefore by his Ambaſſador the Cardinal of *Suiſſerland*, he yet borrows more Money of the King, which 1516.

A breach with France.

1516. was delivered to certain Merchants of *Genoa*, to be by a ſet day paid to the Emperour in *Italy*. But they, whether corrupted by the *French*, or not of ſufficient ability to make return, deceived him; and ſo his ſecond deſigns vaniſhed alſo into air. I do not think it was the King's fault, although we might juſtly ſuſpect, that the great Treaſure left him by his Father being almoſt ſpent, and the *French* ſecretly offering Peace upon good terms, the friendſhip between him and the Emperour, which he had ſo dearly purchaſed, began at length to grow cold. Certainly (to ſpeak nothing of the League which was afterwards concluded with *France*) the Treaſury was now grown ſo bare, that the King was driven to invent new ways for the raiſing of Money. The care of this buſineſs (as almoſt of all others) was committed to Cardinal *Wolſey*, who caſting up the Exchequer-Accompts, found many deeply indebted to the King; and (whether by the negligence or treachery of the Officers) never yet called to account. Among others, the Duke of *Suffolk* was found to be a great debtor, who beſides his own Revenues, received yearly out of *France* his Wives Joincture, amounting to ſixty thouſand Crowns. Yet notwithſtanding he was fain to withdraw himſelf from Court, that by living thriftily in the Countrey, he might have wherewith to pay this debt. The Cardinal next bethinks himſelf of publick Miſdemeanors of what ſort ſoever: as Perjury, Rapes, Oppreſſion of the Poor, Riots, and the like; the Offendors without reſpect of degree or perſons, he either publickly puniſhed in Body, or ſet round Fines on their heads. By which means the Treaſury (before empty) was repleniſhed, and the Cardinal by the people much applauded for his Juſtice. Theſe things having thus ſucceeded to his mind, he undertakes more in the ſame kind. He inſtitutes a new Court, where the Lords of the Privy Council, with other of the Nobility ſhould ſit as Judges. The aforeſaid Crimes, which then greatly reigned in this Kingdom, and were puniſhable in this Court, which (as I conjecture) from the Stars painted in the roof is called the *Star-Chamber*. He erected alſo the Court of *Requeſts*, where the complaints of the Poor were to be heard; and ordained many other things in the Civil government of the Kingdom, that were acceptable to the People, and are in uſe at this day, wherein he alike manifeſted his wiſdom and love of his Countrey. Certainly they that lived in that Age would not ſtick to ſay, That this Kingdom never flouriſhed more, than when *Wolſey* did, to whoſe Wiſdom they attributed the Wealth and Safety that they enjoyed, and the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice to all without exception.

The Star-Chamber, and

The Court of Requeſts, inſtituted by Wolſey.

ANNO

ANNO DOM. 1517. *REG.* 9.

THe Spring growing on, the fear of a Commotion in *London* increaſed with the year. The original and ſucceſs whereof I will lay open at large, foraſmuch as Enormities of this nature, by our wholeſom Laws ſeverely reſtrained, are ſo rare, that I remember, when I was a child, old men would reckon their Age from this day, by the name of Ill *May*-day. Long Peace having with us begate Plenty, the Mother and Nurſe both of good and bad Arts, allured the moſt excellent Artificers of forein Nations to partake of our happineſs, by frequenting the City of *London*. But the giddy multitude not conceiving what good became of communicating their skill unto us, took it very heinouſly, that Strangers ſhould be permitted to enjoy the Priviledges of the City; and our home-bred Artificers did moſt eſpecially complain, That their means were every day curtalled, for as much as no ſmall part was neceſſarily to be defalked for the maintenance of theſe Strangers. This was now grown the common diſcourſe, and had gon ſo far, that one *Lincoln*, a ringleader of this tumultuous rout, did not ſtick to perſuade ſome Preachers, publickly in the Pulpit to lay open theſe common grievances before the Eſtates of the Realm. Our Ladies Hoſpital in *London*, commonly called the *Spittle*, is famous for the *Eaſter*-Sermons; one of which was to be preached by Dr. *Henry Standiſh* (afterward Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*) a grave and learned man. *Lincoln* had aſſayed him, and had the denial, as in a matter, the very mention whereof a good Patriot ſhould abhor. But Dr. *Bell*, a Divine who was after *Standiſh* to preach in the ſame Place, without fear or wit ſeconding their ſeditious attempts, did publickly in his Sermon read the Bill by them exhibited to him, taking for his Text that of the Prophet in the hundred and fifteenth Pſalm: *The heavens, even the heavens are the Lords; but he hath given the earth to the ſons of men:* Thence moſt fooliſhly concluding, that *England* was given to *Engliſh-men* only, and that therefore it was not to be endured, that Aliens ſhould enjoy any part thereof. Many things by him ſpoken to this purpoſe, were accepted with great applauſe and approbation of the Vulgar, who out of extreme hatred to Strangers, breathed nothing but ſedition. And to add more fuel to this fire, it happened that many outrages were about that time committed by ſome of theſe Strangers. This evil then thus ſpreading it ſelf, Foreiners were every where ill intreated, and commonly knockt down in the ſtreets, having not offered injury to any man. The authors of theſe riots being by the Lord Mayor committed to priſon; a ſudden rumor ran through the City, That on *May*-day next all Strangers ſhould be maſſacred. This without doubt proceeded from ſome of this unruly crew, and was intended

1517.

18 May-day.

1517. as a watch-word to all the Faction; but the Strangers made ſo good uſe of it, that they had all withdrawn themſelves before that time, and the Magiſtrates very carefully attended each occaſion, endeavouring to cruſh all Tumultuous Deſigns in the ſhell. On *May*-day-Eve therefore (the next day being the Feaſt of the Apoſtles *Philip* and *Jacob*, the ſolemnity thereof is uſually augmented by the liberty granted to the younger ſort to ſport themſelves and to make merry) the Citizens in general are by Proclamation commanded to keep faſt their doors, and to reſtrain their Servants from going abroad until nine of the Clock the next day. But before this had been throughly proclaimed, an Alderman walking in the ſtreets, ſaw a troop of young men conſiſting of Apprentices and ſuch like gathered together, and playing at cudgels. He ſharply reproved them for not obeying the King's Edict, withal threatning to puniſh them, if they the ſooner betook not themſelves every one to his home. Words not prevailing, he laid hold on one or two, intending to have committed them. But what reckoning they made of Authority, their reſiſtance in reſcue of their Companions ſhewed; and by outcries giving an Alarm, drew together all the reſt of their Faction in that quarter of the City. The fame of this hurliburly increaſed their numbers, by ſending Mariners, Gentlemens Servants, Beggars, and Citizens, but the greateſt part were Apprentices. Sedition like a torrent carried them headlong, and animated them to all villany. They break open the Priſons, ſet thoſe at liberty, that were impriſoned for their outrages on Strangers, flie about the City as in a whirlwind, rob all Foreiners houſes, and not content with their goods, ſeek after them for their lives. They found their neſts, but the birds were fled. Having thus ſpent the night, in the morning hearing the King's forces to approach, moſt of them ſlipt away, only ſome three hundred remained (whereof eleven were Women) and being apprehended, ſupplied their places, whom they before had freed. They were all arraigned, only thirteen deſigned for death, whereof, nine ſuffered on divers Gibbets purpoſely erected in divers parts of the City. *Lincoln*, *Sherwin*, and two Brethren named *Betts*, Chieftains in this ſedition, were carried to *Cheapſide*, where *Lincoln* was deſervedly hanged. The Executioner ready to turn off another, was prevented by the King's gracious Pardon. The mind of man being prone to pity, we may imagine, that others were well pleaſed at the news; but certainly the condemned had cauſe to rejoyce. The Queens of *England*, the two Dowagers of *France* and *Scotland* (both of them the King's Siſters, and then at Court) became inceſſant Petitioners to his Majeſty, and on their knees, in the behalf of theſe condemned perſons: and at length, *Wolſey* conſenting (by whom the King was wholly ſwayed) their Petitions were granted to them, and to the poor men their lives. This was the laſt Scene of

of this Tragical Tumult, the like whereof this well-governed City had not known in many Ages. For the Laws very well provided in that caſe, do under a great penalty forbid Aſſemblies, eſpecially of armed men, if not warranted by publick Authority. 1517.

The Sweating-Sickneſs.

In *Auguſt* and *September* the Sweating-ſickneſs (termed beyond Sea, *Sudor Anglicus*, or the *Engliſh ſweat*) began, a diſeaſe utterly unknown to former Ages. Of the common ſort they were numberleſs, that periſhed by it; of the Nobility, the Lords *Clinton*, and *Grey* of *Wilton*. The ſymptoms and cure you may find in *Polydor Virgil* (*in Anno* 1. *Henr.* 7.) who (as confidently, as I believe truly) maintains, That, this diſeaſe was never till then known to be, much leſs to be mortal. As if there were a concatenation of evils, one evil ſeldom cometh alone. A Peſtilence ſucceeded this former mortality, and ſo raged the whole Winter ſeaſon in moſt parts of the Realm, that the King for fear of infection, attended by a few, was fain every day to remove his Court from one place to another.

The eleventh of *February* was born the Lady *Mary*, afterwards Queen of *England*.

ANNO DOM. 1518. *REG.* 10.

1518.

Peace with France.

THe Peace ſo long treated of between us and the *French*, was now in *September* at length concluded on theſe Conditions: *That the* Daulphin *ſhould marry the Lady* Mary *the King's only Child, and not yet two years old*: *That* Tournay *ſhould be reſtored to the* French: *That the* French *ſhould pay King* Henry *four hundred thouſand Crowns*, viz. *two hundred thouſand for his charge in building the Cittadel, for the Artillery, Powder, and Munition, which he ſhould leave there; and other two hundred thouſand Crowns, partly for the expence of that War, wherein the City was taken, and partly in regard of other Penſions that were due unto him.*

For the payment of which ſumms, the *French* gave eight Hoſtages, ſo ſaith *Bellay*. But our Writers ſpeak of a far different ſumm, *viz. Six hundred thouſand Crowns for the City, and four hundred thouſand Crowns for the Cittadel: beſides three and twenty thouſand Pounds* Tournois, *which the City of* Tournay *ought the King; and an annual Penſion of a thouſand Marks aſſigned to Cardinal* Wolſey *for renouncing all claim and title to the Biſhoprick of* Tournay. For the confirmation of theſe Articles, the Earl of *Worceſter*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*, with ſome others, were ſent into *France*, where both by the King and Princes of the Realm they were magnificently entertained.

ANNO

ANNO DOM. 1519. REG. 11.

1519. *The death of the Emperour* Maximilian.

THis year, on the twelfth of *January*, in the ſixty third year of his age, died the Emperour *Maximilian*, having to prevent a diſeale, to which he thought himſelf inclining, unſeaſonably taken a Medicine of uncertain operation. His death bred an equal deſire in the minds of two great Princes, who became Competitors for the Empire, *Francis* King of *France*, and *Charles* King of *Spain*. But *Charles*, although King of *Spain*, yet being by birth (born at *Gand*) and deſcent a *German*, at the age of nineteen years was choſen Emperour of *Germany*, with the full conſent and ſuffrages of all the Princes Electors. This Elęction, how-ever other ſlight matters were pretended, was undoubtedly the cauſe of the enſuing dreadful War between theſe Princes. The *French* King taking this repulſe impatiently, meditates nothing but revenge. And that his deſigns might no way be croſſed by us, he labours amain for the confirmation of the Peace lately agreed upon between *Henry* and him. Therefore by the Admiral *Bonivet* he deals with *Wolſey*, that at an Enterview between the two Kings, the League might be ratified. To this end *Henry* intends to come to *Guiſnes*, *Francis* to *Ardres*, and a convenient place between both is made choice of for their Enterview.

ANNO DOM. 1520. REG. 12.

1520. *The Emperour* Charles *the Fifth in* England:

HEreupon the King ſetting forward towards *France*, by eaſie journeys comes to *Canterbury*, intending there to keep his *Whitſontide*. The next day after being the twenty ſixth of *May*, the new created Emperour *Charles* the Fifth in his return from *Spain* arrives at *Dover*, diſtant twelve miles from *Canterbury*. The King gladly entertaines the news, and although it were midnight, takes horſe, and within little more than an hour comes by torch-light to *Dover*-Caſtle, where the Emperour lay; who Sea-weary was then aſleep. But being certified of the King's arrival, he ſuddenly apparelled himſelf, and met the King at the top of the ſtairs. They embraced and ſaluted one another, they long conferred together, and the next morning (being *Whit-Sunday*) they

Canterbury.

rode together to *Canterbury*, the Emperour alway keeping the right hand, and the Earl of *Derby* bearing the Sword before them both. *Canterbury* is a City more famous for antiquity, than for modern beauty. To let paſs, that it was above a thouſand years ſince made an Archiepiſcopal See, our Chronicles do ſufficiently teſtifie, that both in reſpect of private mens fair Houſes, and the magnificent ſtructure of its Churches, it antiently excelled the braveſt Cities of *England*. But within theſe few years it hath loſt ſo much of

of its greatneſs and beauty, that a man ſhall find little of *Canterbury* beſide the name. Why it ſhould ſo much in ſo ſhort ſpace decay, many reaſons may be alledged: As the vicinity of *London*, which ſwelling like the Spleen, ſucks both blood and moiſture from all the other languiſhing Cities of the Kingdom. Likewiſe the ſubverſion of St. *Auguſtine*'s Monaſtery, the loſs of *Calais*, and the pulling down of Archbiſhop *Becket*'s Shrine, things which occaſioned a great concourſe of people, and did by their loſs and overthrow much impair this Cities ſplendour. One only Ornament thereof ſurvives, which is the Cathedral and Metropolitical Church, with ſuch a majeſty piercing the skies (ſaith *Eraſmus*) that it a far off fills the beholder with devout amazement. This Church being at firſt dedicated to our Saviour CHRIST, a few Ages paſt degenerated into the nick-name of St. *Thomas*. This *Thomas*, ſirnamed *Becket*, having obſtinately oppoſed *Henry* the Second, was in this Church ſlain by certain Souldiers; and being afterward canonized for a Saint, his Sepulcher mightily increaſed the glory of the place. For from thoſe times even almoſt to our days, all ſorts of people from all parts of *Europe*, ſuperſtitiouſly frequented the Shrine of this upſtart Saint, with rich Oblations endeavouring to procure his favour. Hence the Monaſtery was ſo enriched, that of it and the Church *Eraſmus* ſaid, *That every place was enlightened with the luſtre of moſt precious and huge ſtones, and the Church throughout abounded with more than Royal Treaſure.* But the Shrine eſpecially, that contained the Relicks of this Saint, was ſo emboſſed with Jewels, that Gold was the meaneſt thing about it. Hither accompanied with King *Henry*, came the Emperour *Charles*, but whether out of devotion or curioſity, I cannot ſay. But this is certain, that the Cardinal and the Clergy going in Proceſſion, to the Church they went directly, where a great deal of time was ſpent in Ceremonious Worſhip, and Oblations at *Becket*'s Tomb, not only by the Emperour, but even by him, who ſhortly after defaced the Monument, and ſeized upon that infinite Treaſure, heaped up by the devout folly of many preceding Ages. From the Church they went to the Archbiſhop's Palace, where the Queen, Aunt to the Emperour, awaited them, and very joyfully welcomed her Nephew. Three days were ſpent in banqueting and paſtimes, and then the Emperour went to his Navy at *Sandwich*, the King and Queen to *Dover*, from whence they paſſed to *Calais*, that the intended Interview of the two Kings might work its due effects. The ſeventh of *June* was the appointed day; the place, between *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*. There the two Kings mounted on *Spaniſh* Gennets, attended by ſuch a multitude of Nobility, as the occaſions of a hundred years before had not at once brought together the like, encountred each other, both in the flower of their age, the goodlieſt Princes of the world, and moſt expert in all kind of combats both on horſe and foot.

1520.

Interview betwixt the Kings of England *and* France.

1520. foot. It were needleſs to ſet forth the magnificence of theſe Princes, when the bravery of their attendants was ſuch, that the place was thence named *The golden Camp*. Having embraced each other on horſe-back, they alight and betake themſelves to a Pavilion there purpoſely pitched: *Henry* attended on by the Cardinal of *York*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; *Francis* by the Admiral *Bonivet*, the Chancellor *du Prat*, and ſome other Counſellors. Having had familiar conference concerning ſome private matters, they gave order for erecting a Theatre, and encloſing a ground for a Tilt-yard, that ſo they might ſolace themſelves, whiles their Council treated of graver matters, the concluſion whereof they might at leiſure every day know by relation. Fourteen days theſe Princes gave each other the meeting, with great concourſe of moſt famous Souldiers. *Henry* then entertained the *French* King at *Guiſnes*, in a Houſe made of Timber (framed partly in *England*, partly in *Holland*, and thence brought thither) wherein there were four Manſions: The out-ſide was covered with Cloth ſo painted, that it would have deceived the beholders for ſquared Stone; the in-ſide was hung with moſt rich Arras, ſo that it every way ſeemed a moſt artificial and ſtately Building. The form of it was much like that of the *Exchange* at *Calais*. It being afterward taken aſunder, was tranſported into *England*, and ſo ſtood the King in little or nothing, ſaith *Bellay*. (Whereas we know, and that by Records, that there were ſent over out of *England* for this Work, three hundred Maſons, ſix hundred Carpenters, two hundred Painters, Glaſiers, and other Artificers (in all eleven hundred) which for the ſpace of two months laboured continually on this Fabrick.) The day enſuing, the *French* King prepares a Banquet: the Banqueting-houſe was a Canopy every way extended ſixty foot, which without was covered with Cloth of Tiſſue, within with blew Velvet pouldred with golden *Flowers-de-Lys*. At each corner was a Pavilion of the ſame works; the cords were of blew Silk twiſted with Gold of *Cyprus*, which was of great eſteem. But a moſt impetuous and tempeſtuous wind broke aſunder the cords, and laid all this bravery in the dirt. *Patience par force*. The *French* King ſuddenly makes another Banqueting-houſe, in that place where there is now a Fort that takes its name from this Banquet. The preparations were extraordinary, and the magnificence outſtripped the reach of humane judgment. There wanted neither houſes, woods, nor fields for diſport; for many men brought them entire on their backs. But pleaſures muſt have their intermiſſion, and Kings if not by their Greatneſs, are by their Affairs ſevered. *Henry* therefore returns to *Calais*, and *Francis* to *Boloign*. The tenth of the enſuing month, the King gallantly attended, viſited the Emperour at *Graveling*. The Emperour in requital accompanied him back to *Calais*. Shews and Banquets are Princes uſual Entertainments. To this end, the King ſo commanding, a round building

Henry viſits Emperour at Graveling.

is made in the form of an Amphitheatre, eight hundred foot in compaſs. The ſides were of planks; in the middle was a Pillar made of eight great Maſts tied together. This Pillar ſupported the weight not only of the roof of the whole Fabrick, (whither as into a lower Heaven the Moon and Stars had deſcended) but Organs alſo, and places for the receipt of all ſorts of Muſick in abundance. Theſe places were adorned with Tapeſtry, Statues, and curious Pictures, inſomuch that the moſt fault-finding could not complain of any want in that kind. All things were now prepared for the entertainment of ſuch a gueſt, and the Banquet ready to be ſerved in, when the ſame miſchance that befel the *French* Canopy, made our *Engliſh* Heaven and Earth meet together. God, as diſpleaſed with the mad prodigality of theſe two Kings, ſent a tempeſt, the violence whereof ſcattered this counterfeit Heaven, blew out above a thouſand Wax-tapers, defaced the glorious Thrones prepared for theſe Princes, fruſtrated the expectation of the people, and forced the King to the neceſſity of another place. But to let paſs the Tilting, Maſques, and gorgeous Feaſts during the ſix days the Emperour ſtaid at *Calais*: In theſe ſeveral Enterviews between all theſe Princes there was no one ſerious thing done, but this, that a firm Peace, a perpetual League, and faithful Friendſhip ſeemed to be concluded on all ſides. For who would have thought, that it had been poſſible for diſcord it ſelf to have diſſolved this knot, where *Charles* and *Francis* attributed ſo much to *Henry*, that they made him Umpire of all controverſies that ſhould ariſe between them? But that there is ſeldom any heed to be given to the Agreements of Princes, where they are tied by no other bands (as of Religion, Affinity, or manifeſt Utility) than that weak one of their plighted Troth, thoſe foul diſſentions, and bloody wars which afterwards rent all Chriſtendom, and opened a way for that common enemy of our Faith, may be a ſufficient example. The Emperour, after all theſe paſſages of courteſie and humanity, departs toward *Graveling*, mounted on a brave Horſe covered with a foot-cloth of cloth of gold, richly beſet with ſtones which the King had given him. He would often ſpeak of his Aunts happineſs, that was matcht to ſo magnificent a Prince. The King ſtaid ſome few days after at *Calais*, from whence paſſing to *Dover*, he with all his train arrived ſafe at *London*. I cannot but envy their happineſs, who in ſo little time ſaw three the mightieſt Monarchs in Chriſtendom, who for their exploits, and the great alterations happening under each of them, will without doubt be famous through all ſucceeding Ages.

1520.

ANNO DOM. 1521. *REG.* 13.

1521.

The Duke of Buckingham *accuſed of Treaſon.*

Edward Stafford Duke of *Buckingham* was about this time arraigned of high Treaſon. He was deſcended of a Family, which whether it was more antient or noble, is queſtionable. He derived himſelf by a direct line from *Robert de Stafford*, to whom *William* the Conquerour gave large revenues, which his poſterity greatly enlarged, by matching with the Heirs female of many noble Families. By the Lady *Ann*, Daughter to *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was Brother to *Edward* the Third, he participated of the Blood Royal. The firſt honourable Title of the Family was of Lord *Stafford*, the next of Earl of *Stafford*, as was *Edmund*, that married the Daughter to *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*. *Humphrey* Son to *Edmund* was created Duke of *Buckingham* by *Henry* the Sixth, who left that Honor to his Son *Humphrey*, who was Grandfather to this *Edward* by his Son *Henry* the third Duke. How *Henry* aſſiſted the Uſurper *Richard* the Third, in oppreſſing *Edward* the Fifth, how he after conſpired with the Earl of *Richmond* (afterwards *Henry* the Seventh) againſt the Uſurper, but was cut off by the Tyrant before he could bring any thing to paſs; the Hiſtories of thoſe times declare. *Edward* his Son reſtored to Blood and Dignities by *Henry* the Seventh, for his Deſcent, Wealth, and Honors, inferiour to none but the King, not content with this, was by *N. Hopkins* a *Charterhouſe*-Monk induced to believe that Heaven had decreed to cut off King *Henry*, after whoſe death he ſhould reign, and the Crown be for ever eſtabliſhed on his poſterity. This the Monk affirmed, God the Governour of all things, had revealed unto him. He further adviſed him by liberality and courteſie to win the minds of the people, for the time was at hand wherein this ſhould certainly come to paſs, if it were not through his own default. The Duke (no ſot, but blinded by ambition) gave ſuch credit to the Monk, who was either mad, or elſe flattered him in hope of reward, that although the time prefixed for theſe Miracles were paſt, yet was he ſtill in hope, fed the Impoſtor with gifts, who fed him with air, ſecretly vilified the King, and gave profuſely to all. Nay he could not forbear, but at length he muſt brag of the Jugler's promiſes, as he did to a Gentleman named *Charles Knevet*, to whom he boldly unmasked himſelf, and gave a reaſon of his actions. Upon *Knevet*'s accuſation he was arraigned, and condemned the thirteenth of *May*, and on the ſeventeenth publickly beheaded. His death was lamented by many, and the rather for that he was no way faulty, but in his vanity and pride, which overthrew him. Being a child, I have heard antient men ſay, that by his bravery of Apparel, and ſumptuous Feaſts he exaſperated the King, with whom in theſe things he ſeemed to contend. But he could by no means bear

bear with the intolerable pride of the Cardinal, whoſe hatred not improbably proved fatal unto him, rather than did the King's diſpleaſure: for many times Princes are with leſs danger offended, than their Mignons. There goes a tale, That the Duke once holding the baſin to the King, the Cardinal when the King had done, preſently dipped his hands in the ſame water: the Duke diſdaining to debaſe himſelf to the ſervice of a Prieſt, ſhed the water in his ſhooes. The Cardinal therewith incenſed, threatned him, that *He would ſit upon his skirts.* The Duke to ſhew that he ſlighted his threats, and withal, that the King might take notice of the Cardinal's malice, came the next day to Court, richly (as he uſually was) apparelled, but without skirts to his Doublet. The King and many others demanding what he meant by that ſtrange faſhion, he anſwered readily, *That it was done by way of prevention, for the Cardinal ſhould not now ſit upon his skirts.* He thought he had put a jeſt upon the Cardinal, to whoſe informations, as proceeding from envy and ſpleen, he hoped the King would hereafter give the leſs credit. But he miſſed his mark: for moſt men were of opinion, that the Cardinal's malice cruſhed him rather, than did the weight of his own offences. It was the ſaying of *Charles* the Emperour, upon the report of his death, *That the Butcher's Dog had killed the faireſt Hart of* England. Howſoever it came to paſs, the King who had hitherto ruled without bloodſhed, induced by the former reaſons (ſo the Records run) permitted his hands to be ſtained with the blood of this poor Prince; many lamenting, that the indiſcreet credulity of one man, having not attempted ought againſt the Eſtate, ſhould be the overthrow of ſo noble a Family. If I might lawfully pry ſo far into God's judgments, which are indeed inſcrutable, I would be bold to impute the puniſhment of the Son to the Father's treachery; who conſpired with the Uſurper againſt his lawful Prince, *Edward* the Fifth, who by his aſſiſtance was deprived of his Life and Kingdom. But foraſmuch as that being touched in conſcience, he manifeſtly repented this fact (for ſeeking to oppreſs the Tyrant, whom he himſelf had raiſed, he periſhed miſerably) the Divine Juſtice (I think) ſo far regarded his repentance, that his poſterity are nevertheleſs Peers of the Realm, by the title of Lord *Stafford. The firſt point of Wiſdom is, not to run into Errour; the next, quickly to amend it.*

1502 1.

The King having written a Book againſt *Martin Luther*, ſent it as a Preſent to Pope *Leo* the Tenth. This *Leo*, not yet thirty eight years old, was by the combination of the Junior Cardinals elected Pope. In which dignity he behaved himſelf according to his years, profuſely ſpending the Treaſures of the Church in hawking and hunting, and other pleaſures not deemed over-honeſt. Need began at length to pinch him, and money muſt be had. Whereupon he reſolves to make uſe of his Keys, againſt the moſt

King Henry *writeth againſt* Luther.

1521.

ſubtil locks, and ſtrongeſt bars, ever yet held prevalent. Indulgences of all ſorts, without diſtinction of time or place, muſt now publickly be ſet to ſale. St. *Peter*'s Church (this was the pretence) was out of repair, towards which a certain ſumm of money given, would purchaſe Pardon of Sins, not only for the Living, but for the Dead alſo, whoſe Souls ſhould thereby be redeemed from the pains of Purgatory. But whatſoever was pretended, every one palpably ſaw, that theſe Pardons were granted to get money for his own relief. And foraſmuch as the Commiſſioners demanded it after an impudent and ſhameleſs manner, they in moſt places incurred the diſlike and indignation of the people, eſpecially in *Germany*, where they ſaw this faculty of redeeming Souls from Purgatory, was either ſold for little or nothing, or playd away in their Taverns. But what ſpeak I of the Commiſſioners? That which made the *Germans* moſt impatient, was, that the heedleſs Pope had given to his Siſter *Magdalen* the profit of the exactions of Indulgences in many parts of *Germany*, and that ſo openly, that every one muſt needs know it. For all *Germany* ſpake it, that this money was not gathered for the Pope or the Treaſury of the Church (whereby peradventure ſome part of it might be employed to good uſes) but was exacted to ſatisfie the greedineſs of a Woman. At that time lived *Martin Luther*, a Doctor of Divinity, and an *Auguſtine* Monk, one who under a religious Habit, did not conſecrate himſelf to idleneſs, but to God. It is reported, how truly I know not, that recreating himſelf in the fields, his companion with whom he then diſcourſed, was ſuddenly ſtricken dead with Thunder. He thereupon falling into due conſideration of the uncertainty of death, and of judgement, left the ſtudy of the Civil Law, to which he then applied himſelf, and renouncing the world, betook himſelf to a Cloiſter, where for his deportment he was beyond exception, for Learning (eſpecially divine) he was ſcarce matchable. Upon this horrible abuſe of the authority of the Keys, being inflamed with a pious zeal, he could not contain himſelf, but boldly and bitterly inveighed againſt this groſs impiety. Neither ſtayd he there, but (ſtorm the Pope never ſo much) proceeds to other enormities in the Church of *Rome*, ſome whereof that Church hath ſince reformed, the reſt religious Princes, by *Luther* awakened out of their dead ſleep of Superſtition, notwithſtanding the practices of *Rome*, have (God be thanked) exploded. New opinions (eſpecially in matters of Religion) are of themſelves always odious. *Henry* being offended with *Luther*'s new (as the world then deemed them) Tenets, thought it would prove to his honour, by writing againſt *Luther*; to manifeſt his Learning and Piety to the world. Hereupon under his name a Book was ſet forth, better beſeeming ſome antient and deep Divine, than a youthful Prince (whom although he earneſtly endeavoured it, yet his affairs would not

Luther's departure from the Church of Rome.

permit

permit to bury himſelf among his Books) which many thought to have been compiled by Sir *Thomas Moor*, ſome by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and others (not without cauſe) ſuſpected to be the work of ſome other great Scholar. Whoſoever wrote it, *Luther* replied in ſuch ſort, that although his holy zeal were approved by many, yet thoſe many could have wiſhed him more temperate, and reſpective of the Majeſty of Kings. This Book was ſo acceptable to the Pope, that according to the example of *Alexander* the Sixth, who entituled the King of *Spain*, *Catholick*; and of that Pope, whoſoever he were, that gave the *French* King the title of *Moſt Chriſtian*; he decreed to grace King *Henry* and his Succeſſors with that honorable one of *Defender of the Faith.* Which ſeveral Titles are by theſe Princes retained to this day. But *Leo* long ſurvived not his gift, about the end of the year dying (as is ſuſpected) by poiſon. In the mean time the exulcerated minds of the Emperour and the *French* King (according to the nature of ambitious hatred, that for its own ends makes all cauſes juſt) burſt out into open Wars; for the compoſing whereof each of them had formerly agreed to refer themſelves (if any differences ſhould ariſe) to the arbitrement of *Henry*. He therefore ſends to each of them Ambaſſadors, the Cardinal of *York*, the Earl of *Worceſter*, and others, who ſhould, if it were poſſible, reconcile theſe enraged Princes. All they could do, proved but an endeavour: for when they thought they had compaſſed their deſires, ſudden news came, that the Admiral *Bonivet* had by force taken *Fuentaraby*, a Town of the Emperour's in *Biſcay*. The Emperour would not then ratifie the Agreement, unleſs this Town were redelivered; which the *French* denying to do, all fell to pieces again, and the War was renewed. After their devoir in this cauſe, our Ambaſſadors went directly to *Bruges* to the Emperour, of whom for a fortnight, which was the time of their ſtay there, they had Royal entertainment. But he held the Cardinal in ſo great eſteem, that it was apparent he was not ignorant, how powerful the Cardinal was with his Prince. And here perhaps it would not be amiſs (in regard of theſe times) to let the Reader know the pomp and ſtate of this Cardinal, how many Gentlemen attended him apparelled with Velvet, and adorned with Gold-chains, and then how many were cloathed in Scarlet-coats, the skirts whereof were guarded with Velvet the full bredth of a hand. But let him gueſs *Hercules* ſtature by the length of his foot. Such was the bravery of his attendants, that in *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*, and other Princes then reſiding at *Bruges*, it bred amazement. It was alſo reported, that he was by Gentlemen of the beſt rank ſerved on the knee, a kind of ſtate which *Germany* had yet never known. He ſpent a huge maſs of money in that Ambaſſage, and that (as it is thought) not againſt his will. For he by all means ſought the Emperour's favour, hoping that *Leo*, although much younger, either cut off by

1521.

The Kings of England *by the Pope ſtiled*, Defender of the Faith.

The death of Leo *the Tenth.*

Cardinal Wolſey *and others ſent Ambaſſadors to the Emperour and* French *King.*

1521. by treachery, or his own intemperance, might leave the world before him: And then were it no hard matter for him, being under-propped by the Emperour and our King, to be advanced to the Papacy. Wherefore at the firſt bruit of his death he poſted away *Pacey* the Dean of *Pauls* into *Italy*, with Mandates to certain Cardinals whom he thought reſpected him, that they ſhould do their beſt in his behalf. But before he could reach *Rome*, he was certainly informed, that *Adrian* (ſometimes Tutor to the Emperour, and then Viceroy of *Spain*) was already elected, by the name of *Adrian* the Sixth.

ANNO DOM. 1522. *REG.* 14.

1522. WOlſey nevertheleſs was as full of ambitious hope as ever. For *Adrian* was a decrepit weak old man, and therefore not likely (as indeed he did not) to ſurvive him. In the mean time he might make an aſcent, by which his ambition might climb. He therefore ſeeks to advance the Emperour's deſigns more than ever, and to that end he perſuadeth *Henry* to denounce War againſt the *French*; for that he denied to ſurrender *Fuentaraby*, and had broken the Covenants made between them, in not ſtanding to the Arbitrement of *Henry*, as both *Charles* and *Francis* had compromiſed; at what time it was likewiſe decreed, that *Henry* ſhould declare himſelf an Enemy to the obſtinate refuſer. The *French* diſcerning the ſtorm before it came, arreſts all *Engliſh* Ships, commits the Merchants to priſon, and ſeizeth their goods to his own uſe; ſtops all Penſions due either to *Henry* for *Tournay*, or to his Siſter the Dowager of *France*, for her Joincture. The *French* Ships and Merchants in *England* find the like entertainment, the Hoſtages given by the *French* for the 'foreſaid ſumms, are committed to cloſe priſon, and the *French* Ambaſſador confined to his houſe. Levies are made throughout *England*, and great preparations for another Expedition into *France*: To which the King being wholly bent, Ambaſſadors ſuddenly arrive from the Emperour, whoſe requeſt was; That he would joyn his forces with the Imperials: and that, if it ſo pleaſed him, *Charles* would within few days be in *England*, that ſo they might perſonally confer and adviſe what courſe they were beſt to run. Many reaſons moved the Emperour by the way to touch at *England*. His Grandfather *Ferdinand* being dead, his preſence was neceſſarily required in *Spain*, whither he muſt paſs by *England*. He feared leſt this breach betwixt us and *France*, might eaſily be made up, he being ſo far diſtant. He had an *Ætna* in his breaſt, which burned with extreme hatred toward the *French*, and was confident, that his preſence would raiſe our ſparkle to a flame. They might perſonally treat and conclude more ſafely and ſecurely than by Agents and Poſts, of whom in matters

matters of moment no wiſe man would make uſe, unleſs forced by neceſſity. But the chief cauſe (as I conjecture) of this his ſecond coming into *England*, was, that he was weary of *Wolſey*, with whom he ſaw it was impoſſible long to continue friend. For the Cardinal by his importunity, one while for the Papacy, another while for the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, did much moleſt him, who had determined to afford him nothing but good words. He diſdained not in his Letters to a *Butcher's Son*, to uſe that honorable compellation of *Couſin*, and whether preſent or abſent, he afforded him all kind of honour whatſoever. But when the Cardinal craved any earneſt of his love, ſome excuſe or other was found out to put him by, yet ſo, as ſtill to entertain him with hopes. But *Wolſey* was ſubtil, and of a great ſpirit. And theſe devices were now grown ſo ſtale, that they muſt needs be perceived. *Charles* therefore neglecting his wonted courſe by *Wolſey*, ſtudies how to be aſſured of the King without him. For this no fitter means could be thought of, than this Interview. The King was naturally courteous, loved the Emperour exceedingly, and repoſed great confidence in him. *Charles* therefore hoped that by the familiarity of ſome few weeks he might make the King his own. But *Henry* (he thought) would not long continue ſo, unleſs he could ſome way leſſen his favour toward the Cardinal. This he hoped might be effected by admoniſhing the King, that he was now paſt the years of a child, and needed no Tutor, that it was not fit he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be ſwaied by a Prieſt, one in all reaſon better skilled in the myſteries of the Altar, than of State, againſt which in this reſpect (beſides the abuſe of his power) he muſt needs be ſome way (though perhaps unwillingly) faulty. The addition of ſome aſperſions withal were thought not to be amiſs, which if not true, ſhould at leaſt carry a ſhew of truth. That the Emperour practiſed ſomething in this kind, the conſequences make it more than probable. *Henry* being a noble Prince, and one that ſcorned money as much as any one breathing, was glad of the Emperour's coming; yet was his Treaſury very bare, and ſo great a Gueſt could not be entertained without as great expences. *Charles* upon notice of the King's pleaſure, attended by the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, the Lord *De La-ware*, and others of the *Engliſh* Nobility, comes from *Graveling* to *Calais*, from whence he paſſed to *Dover*, where he was received by the Cardinal, who was accompanied with two Earls, ten Biſhops, ten Abbots, thirty ſix Knights, a hundred Gentlemen, thirty Prieſts (all theſe apparelled in Velvet) and at leaſt ſeven hundred Servants. Two days he ſtaid at *Dover* before the King came. At length he came, and welcomed him with all Princely entertainment, profeſſing, that no greater happineſs could betide him on earth, than the enjoying his Majeſty's moſt deſired company, though but for ſo ſhort a time. From *Dover*, taking *Canterbury* in the way, they came

1522.

The Emperour Charles *the ſecond time in* England.

1522. came to *Greenwich*, where the Queen awaited the longed for preſence of her Nephew. From thence to *London*, where they were received by the Citizens with the ſolemnities uſual at the Coronation of our Kings. At *Whitſontide* both Princes came to *Pauls*, where they heard the Cardinal ſay Maſs. Sports agreeable to the entertainment of ſuch a Gueſt, were not wanting. But when mention was made of renewing the League, *Windſor* was thought fitteſt for the Treaty, it being not above twenty miles from *London*, and a place altogether as it were compoſed for pleaſure. *Windſor* is ſituated in a large Plain, upon the banks of the River *Thames*. The Caſtle (being the chiefeſt in *England*, for ſtrength comparable to that of *Dover*, but far exceeding it in greatneſs and beauty) is built on a hill. This Caſtle contains beſides the King's Court, a goodly Church by *Edward* the Third dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin and St. *George*; adjoyning to which is the College, where are the houſes of the Dean, Prebendaries, and Vicars Choral, where alſo live twelve Souldiers diſcharged of the Wars (called Knights) and having penſions, who in their habits are bound daily to frequent the Church, there to pray unto God for the Knights of the Illuſtrious Order of the Garter. Of this Order the Caſtle is the Seat, where according to the firſt Inſtitution, the Knights are to be inſtalled, on certain days are to Offer and to do ſome other duties. Here, upon *Corpus Chriſti* day theſe Princes having on the Robes of the Order, in their ſtalls heard Maſs, and receiving the Sacrament, bound themſelves by Oath inviolably to obſerve the Conditions of this new League, the chief Articles whereof were theſe:

Windſor.

The Conditions of the League concluded with the Emperour.

That they ſhould with joint and as great Forces as they could, invade France: *That the Emperour ſhould yearly pay to the King as much as was due to Him and his Siſter, from the* French, *viz.* 133000 *Crowns: That the Emperour ſhould at convenient years take to Wife his Couſin-german the Lady* Mary, *the King's only Child* (who after reigned, and at age of forty years was married to *Philip* the Emperour's Son;) *That he by whoſe default it ſhould happen, that this match ſhould not ſucceed, ſhould pay the other* 500000 *Crowns: And for aſſurance of this, the Emperour ſhould put St.* Omers *and* Aires *into the King's hands.*

One would have thought it had paſſed the reach of humane policy, to have diſſolved this band. But ſhortly after broken it was, and could never after be firmly knit again. After eight days ſtay at *Windſor*, theſe Princes went to *Wincheſter*, and from thence to *Southampton*, where was the Emperour's Fleet, conſiſting of a hundred and eighty Ships. Here on the firſt of *July* the Emperour took Ship and made for *Spain*.

In the mean time the Earl of *Surrey* having gathered a Fleet, landed near *Morleys* in *Bretaigne*, forced the Town, and burned it.

And

And having waſted all the Countrey thereabout, he went into *Picardy*, to joyn with the Imperials. Some Forts they took and razed. They beſieged *Heſdin*, but without ſucceſs: For Winter coming on, and our men dying apace of the Flux, they were fain to ſet ſail homeward. 1522.

I will conclude this year with an ignominious and fatal loſs to Chriſtendom, the Iſle of *Rhodes*, being on *Chriſtmas*-day taken by the *Turks*, while Chriſtian Princes diſagreeing about matters of nothing, ruine themſelves, and invite the Miſcreant to propagate his long ſince too too formidable Empire. God grant they may at length, conſidering the common danger, rouze up themſelves, and with joint-reſiſtance repell this Enemy of *Chriſt*'s Croſs, who although he be far enough from ſome, is too near to the fartheſt. Rhodes *taken by the* Turk.

ANNO DOM. 1523. *REG.* 15.

Chriſtiern the Second, King of *Denmark*, by the rebellion of his Subjects driven out of his Kingdom, had reſided ſome while with the Emperour, whoſe Siſter he had married. The fifteenth of *June*, accompanied with his Wife, Niece to Queen *Katherine*, he landed at *Dover*. At *London* they abode ſome days, with that due honour that kindred and Princes give to one another. The fifth of *July* they returned toward *Calais*. In the mean time a Parliament was held at *London*, wherein the States being certified of the neceſſity of War, and what a fair occaſion was offered for the recovery of *France*, but that the War was like to be defective, in regard of the weakneſs of its ſinews; a great ſumm of money was eaſily granted. The Kings of *France* exact money of their Subjects at their pleaſure; the Kings of *England* do not uſually, without a Parliament, wherein the pretence of War with *France* was wont to be a great motive of the Subjects liberality. And indeed *France* was at this time greatly diſtracted, being oppreſſed with ſo many Enemies abroad, and having to do with undermining Treachery at home; inſomuch that our advantages, if wiſely followed, ſeemed to promiſe us whatſoever we could hope for. *Francis* was on the one ſide preſſed with the War of *Milan*, on the other ſide by the Emperour: At home *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* revolted from him, by Letters inciting our King to the recovery of his hereditary (as he acknowledged) Right in *France*, whereto, reſpectleſs of pain or peril, he promiſed his faithful aſſiſtance. Neither was this offer to be ſlighted; for he had conceived an implacable hatred againſt his Prince, and was able to make a great party in *France*. His valour and experience were after manifeſted by the greatneſs of his exploits performed in a ſhort ſpace, *Francis* being taken priſoner by him, *Rome* ſacked by his 1523.

Chriſtiern, *King of* Denmark.

The Duke of Bourbon *revolts.*

1523. his conduct, the Pope beſieged in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and fain at laſt to ranſom himſelf and his Cardinals at a mighty rate. Theſe notable advantages were all let ſlip through the never ſatisfied ambition and malice of one man; but ſo, that it made way for that great alteration which afterward happened in the eſtate of the Church. Bleſſed be that almighty Power, that converts the wicked deſigns of men to the good of his Church, and his own glory.

The Parliament being diſſolved, the Duke of *Suffolk* is ſent into *France* with thirteen thouſand men; *viz.* ſix hundred Launces, two hundred Archers on horſe-back, three thouſand Archers on foot, five thouſand Halberdiers, ſeventeen hundred drawn out of the Garriſon of *Calais*, and two thouſand ſix hundred Pioners. The *Engliſh* and *Imperials* joining, invaded the *French* Dominions, took *Roye*, *Mondidier*, *Bohain*, *Bray*, *Chaſteaubeau*, and marching within twenty two leagues of *Paris*, put the City in a terrible affright, until the Lord of *Brion*, ſent by the King with the comfortable news of the coming of the Duke of *Vendoſme* with four hundred Launces, makes them take heart again. After theſe exploits, our Forces toward the end of *December* were recalled.

The death of Adrian *the Sixth.* Clement *the Seventh ſucceedeth, and* Wolſey *ſuffereth the repulſe.*

In the mean time, on the fourteenth of *September* died Pope *Adrian* the Sixth; in whoſe place *Julius Medices* was after two months elected. Here *Wolſey* again failed in his hopes, who expected by the help of the Emperour and the King, to have ſucceeded *Adrian*. But the Emperour never intended this dignity for him (for he did his beſt for *Julius.*) Neither indeed had he been willing, could he have advanced him to the Chair. For the Cardinals were in ſo ſhort a time weary of *Adrian*, who was a ſtranger, and little acquainted with the Court of *Rome*. And the College repined to ſee any other ſit in St. *Peter*'s Chair, than an *Italian*, or at leaſt one bred up in *Italy*. Nevertheleſs *Wolſey* was ſo incenſed againſt the Emperour, by whoſe default (he was verily perſuaded) it happened that he miſſed of the Papacy, that now bidding hope farewel, he was poſſeſſed with a deſire to be revenged on the Emperour for his conceived injury. He therefore on a ſudden turns *French*, and to hinder the Emperour's proceedings, procured our Forces to be called home, pretending the ill ſeaſon of the year, with promiſe that the next Spring they ſhould be returned again.

ANNO DOM. 1524. *REG.* 16.

1524. BUt *Charles* having not given any juſt cauſe of breach, *Wolſey* dared not publickly to profeſs his affection toward the *French*, with whom notwithſtanding by the intercourſe of one *John Joachim* a *Genueſe* he maintains intelligence, and without the privity of

of *Henry* lays the platform of a new League. The War was very hot between the Emperour and the *French*. *Francis* had already taken *Milan*, and with a mighty Army ſate down before *Pavia*, vowing not to riſe from thence until he had taken it. The Duke of *Bourbon* and the Imperials were in number little inferiour, and ſtood in want of nothing but money (indeed all in all) wherewith the Pope, the *Venetians*, and our *Henry* were to furniſh him. *Clement*, although he had obtained the Papacy chiefly by *Charles* his means, detained the money which his predeceſſor *Adrian* had promiſed; ſaying, it beſeemed not his Holineſs, to intermeddle with the Wars of Princes. The *Venetians* at firſt anſwered coldly, at length plainly denied; for they ſtood in awe of the *French*, and were jealous of the Emperour's ambition: And the malicious Cardinal had ſo played his part with *Henry*, that the Imperials diſappointed of the monthly ſumms due from him, were exceedingly diſtreſſed. Now *Wolſey* to make a ſeparation between theſe two Princes, told the King, that he certainly found that the Emperour did but delude him: that he had indeed promiſed to marry the King's Daughter; but a rumour was raiſed by the *Spaniards*, That this match would be little either for his profit or his honour, foraſmuch as upon the point, the Lady *Mary* was but a Baſtard, begotten, it is true, in wedlock, yet inceſtuouſly, the match being by the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions made unlawful: for he could not lawfully marry Queen *Catharine*, who had been before married to his Brother Prince *Arthur*: That both the Old and New Teſtaments were expreſs againſt ſuch conjunctions, and that therefore it lay not in the Pope to diſpenſe with them. It is certain that the Emperour's Ambaſſadors had thus diſcourſed with *Wolſey* upon this very point, and *Wolſey* made his uſe of it accordingly. He knew the King doated not on his Queen, and buzzed theſe things in his ears, in hope he would bethink himſelf of a new Wife. This taking as he deſired, and the King lamenting, that for lack of Iſſue he ſhould leave the Kingdom to a Child, to a Woman, to One, whom, in regard the lawfulneſs of her birth was queſtionable, he could not with ſafety make his Heir; the Cardinal propoſed unto him for Wife *Margaret* Ducheſs of *Alançon*, a beautiful Lady, and Siſter to the King of *France*. He knew, that upon his Divorce from *Catharine*, and Marriage with the other, *Henry* muſt of neceſſity fall foul with the Emperour, and without hope of reconciliation, ſtrongly adhere to the *French*. That this Divorce was for theſe reaſons ſet on foot by *Wolſey*, the Imperial Hiſtorians do all accord; neither for ought I ever read, do Ours deny. But howſoever it came to paſs, this is certain, That *Henry* inſtead of furniſhing the Emperour with the money he had promiſed, demanded all that he had already lent.

1525.

Wolſey perſuades the King to a Divorce.

ANNO DOM. 1525. *REG.* 17.

1525.

Richard Pacey *Dean of* Pauls *falleth mad.*

Richard Pacey Dean of St. *Pauls*, had been not long before ſent to *Venice* as an Agent concerning our affairs in *Italy*. He was a very Learned man, and worthy (had God been ſo pleaſed) of a better Deſtiny. He knew not the change of the King's mind. But perceiving the monthly pay due from the King, according to promiſe came not, of whoſe Honour, which now lay at ſtake, he was very tender, he was much diſcontented. To ſalve all, he aſſaied to take up ſo much money of certain Merchants, with whom it ſeems he in part prevailed. But the ſumm was ſo ſmall, that it ſtood the Imperials in as ſmall ſtead, and yet ſo great, that it exceeded the ability of his private eſtate to make ſatisfaction. Upon notice of the King's alienation from the Emperour, he fell irrecoverably diſtracted.

The Battel of Pavy.

In the mean time the Duke of *Bourbon* and the Imperials were in ſo great diſtreſs and want of all things, that unleſs they could by ſome ſtratagem or other draw the *French* to commit all to the fortune of a Battel, the Army muſt needs disband. They diſquiet and try the *French* (eſpecially in the night preceding St. *Matthias*-day, which was the day of the Emperour *Charles* his nativity) with many falſe Alarms. They make two Squadrons of Horſe, and four of Foot. The firſt conſiſting of ſix thouſand Lanſquenets, *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, under the command of the Marqueſs of *Guaſto*; the ſecond of *Spaniſh* Foot, under the Marqueſs of *Peſcara*; the third and fourth of Lanſquenets, under the Viceroy *Launoy* and the Duke of *Bourbon*. They came to a Wall called the *Park-wall*, and under the covert of the night caſt down above ſixty paces, enter within it, the firſt Squadron taking the way to *Mirabell*, the reſt marching toward the King's Army. The King thought the Imperials went to *Mirabell*, as making choice of the plain open fields to fight in. He was unwilling to leave the beſieged at liberty, and yet the Plains were advantageous for his Horſe. He therefore commands his Artillery to be diſcharged, which ſomewhat endamaged them; and though unwilling, draws his Forces out of their trenches (than which the Imperials deſired nothing more) and oppoſed the whole ſtrength of his Army againſt them. But paſſing before the Cannon, hinders their execution. They that took the way to *Mirabell*, now turn head, and both Armies engage themſelves in a cruel fight, wherein the King more following Shadows than Subſtances, and the idle rumours of the vulgar, than the means of a moſt certain and glorious Victory, is overthrown and taken priſoner, loſing beſide the flower of the *French* Nobility (almoſt all either taken or ſlain) at one blow the Duchy of *Milan*, the poſſeſſion whereof had made him Lord of the greateſt part of *Lombardy*. Pope *Clement*, who had left the Emperour for the

French

French (which he afterward repented) often advertiſed the King, that the Imperials were in great diſtreſs and want, that they continually mutinied for lack of pay; that he had taken ſo ſufficient order with the King of *England* and the reſt of the Confederates, that they ſhould continue bare enough of money. If therefore he would but hold his hand, and forbear to fight, neceſſity enforcing the Imperials to disband, he ſhould be victorious without blood-ſhed. But he was not capable of ſo good advice. His Forces were great (yet ſhort of his account, his Captains treacherouſly abuſing him, in not furniſhing thoſe numbers of Foot for which they received pay) and it were equally a diſhonour to him, either to ſeem to avoid the Enemy, or to lie ſtill ſo long at a Siege, to no purpoſe. The Divine Power having decreed to chaſtiſe him, permitted him through impatience to run headlong into theſe errours, which ſo deeply plunged him in thoſe calamities, that without God's eſpecial favour had proved fatal to him and his *France*. 1525.

When I conſider this and many other the like chances happening as well in the courſe of a private man's life, as in publick affairs, I cannot but wonder at the ſottiſh valour of this Age, wherein rather than endure the touch of the leaſt (though falſe) aſperſion, we will run the hazard both of life and fortunes. How many brave men do we daily ſee, wonderful ingenious in this kind of folly? who ſtanding upon I know not what *Points of Honour*, upon the leaſt offence challenge the field, and wilfully ſeek out their own deſtruction. What in God's name is become of the patience of that lingering *Fabius*, who quietly bearing the bitter taunts and mocks of his Souldiers, of the People, and the Senate, yet brought home an eaſie, though late Victory? We are certainly too blame, with the Dog we catch at the ſhadow and loſe the ſubſtance. Of our Saviour we ſhall learn, that it is the higheſt point of Fortitude, *In patience to poſſeſs our Souls.* And according to *Ariſtotle*, true Valour is regardleſs of ill language.

Mordear opprobriis falſis, mutemque colores?
Falſus honor juvat, & mendax infamia terret
Quem, niſi mendoſum & mendacem?

It is *Horace*:

Back-bitten, muſt I needs turn pale for it?
Falſe honours pleaſe, and lying ſlanders fright,
Whom, but the unworthy and vain-glorious wight?

In the Tent of the captive-King, the Letters of the Pope and our King, concerning their late League with the *French*, being found, the Duke of *Bourbon* now knew the cauſe why ſupplies of Money came in ſo ſlowly: And *Prat*, Leiger here for the Emperour, upon notice of it, without leave withdrew himſelf from Court, and on the ninth of *April* ſecretly departed the land. In the mean time

1525. time *Henry* little ſuſpecting that theſe ſecret compacts were known to the Emperour, about the end of *March* ſent Ambaſſadors to him *Cutbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield* Knight of the Garter; by whom *He did congratulate his late victorious ſucceſs, admoniſhing him to a cloſe purſuit of his fortunes: That if his Imperial Majeſty intended with greater forces to oppreſs the already vanquiſhed; in regard of the ſtrict tie of Friendſhip between them, his neceſſary endeavours ſhould in no ſort be wanting.* What anſwer the Emperour gave I know not. It is very likely he paid the King in his own coin, and diſſembled with the Diſſembler; but having courteouſly entertained our Ambaſſadors, as courteouſly diſmiſſed them.

But the King wants money, and muſt now diſſemble with his Subjects. He pretended War with *France*, and with this key hopes to open his Subjects coffers. The expectation of ſupplies by a Parliament would prove tedious; ſome ſhorter courſe muſt be taken. Money is therefore demanded by Proclamation, and that no leſs than according to the ſixth part of every man's Moveables. Divers great perſonages appointed Commiſſioners, uſe all fair means to draw the people to contribute. But although they ſate in Commiſſion in divers parts of the Kingdom at one and the ſame time, they were ſo far from prevailing, that as if the people had univerſally conſpired, it was every where denied, and the Commiſſioners very ill entreated, not without further danger of ſedition and tumult. Hereupon the King calls a Parliament to be held at *London*; wherein he profeſſeth himſelf to be utterly ignorant of theſe intolerable courſes by ſuch burthenous taxations. The King diſclaiming it, every one ſeeks to free himſelf. The Cardinal was at laſt fain to take all upon himſelf; proteſting, *That as a faithful Servant, he had no further end in it, than the profit of his Lord the King; and that he had adviſed not only with his Majeſties Council* (which they all acknowledged) *but alſo with the Learned in the Laws both Divine and Humane, whoſe opinion it was, That the King might lawfully take the ſame courſe that* Pharaoh *did, who by the miniſtery of* Joſeph *ſequeſtred a certain portion of every mans private eſtate for the publick good.* But the diſlike of the people, occaſioned by this (though fruitleſs) project, was greater than could be removed by this excuſe.

Money demanded and commanded by Proclamation.

And yet this project was not altogether fruitleſs, the King's apparent want affording a ſufficient pretext of deferring the War with *France* until another year. Neither was it the King's intent to make uſe of his advantages over the *French*, who now lay open to all his blows. *Henry* having put away his Wife, the Emperour muſt needs be netled, and then the amity of *France* would ſtand him in ſome ſtead. Indeed *Catharine* was a noble and a virtuous Lady, but ſhe had lived ſo long, as to make her Husband weary of her. He affected the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Bolen*, Treaſurer

The King falls in love with Ann Bolen.

of

of his Houſhold. Her he intends to marry, and to be divorced from the other: *For he did in his ſoul abhor this inceſtuous Match, and it ſtood not with the publick weal, that he ſhould live ſingle, eſpecially the lawfulneſs of his Daughters birth being ſo queſtionable. He married not again for his pleaſure, but to ſettle the Kingdom on his lawful Iſſue. The Learned (as many as he had conferred with) did generally pronounce the firſt Marriage void: yet would he have it lawfully decided, that with a ſafe conſcience he might make choice of a ſecond.* Thus far had *Wolſey* willingly led him, hoping to have drawn him to a Match in *France*. But he was of age to chooſe for himſelf, and had already elſewhere ſetled his affections. 1525.

A creation of Lords.

And the more to manifeſt his love, on the eighteenth of *June* he created his future Father-in-Law Sir *Thomas Bolen*, Viſcount *Rochfort*. At the ſame time were created *Henry Fitz-roy* the King's natural Son by *Elizabeth Blount* Daughter to Sir *John Blount* Knight, Earl of *Nottingham*, and Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*: *Henry Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, the King's Couſin-german, Marqueſs of *Exceter*: *Henry Brandon*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Suffolk* by the King's Siſter the Dowager of *France*, Earl of *Lincoln*: *Thomas Manners* Lord *Roos*, Earl of *Rutland*: Sir *Henry Clifford*, Earl of *Cumberland*: and *Robert Ratcliff* Lord *Fitzwalter*, Viſcount *Fitzwalter*.

Wolſey, to build two Colleges,

Cardinal *Wolſey* this year laid the foundation of two Colleges, one at *Ipſwich* the place of his birth, another at *Oxford*, dedicated to our Saviour CHRIST, by the name of *Chriſt-Church*. This latter, though not half finiſhed, yet a magnificent and royal Work, a moſt fruitful Mother of Learned Children, doth furniſh the Church and Commonwealth with multitudes of able men, and amongſt others, acknowledgeth me (ſuch as I am) for her Foſter-child. The other, as if the Founder had alſo been the foundation, fell with the Cardinal, and being for the moſt part pulled down, is long ſince converted to private uſes. The Cardinal's private eſtate (although it were wonderful great) being not ſufficient to endow theſe Colleges with revenues anſwerable to their foundation, the Pope conſenting, he demoliſhed forty Monaſteries of meaner note, and conferred the lands belonging to them, on theſe his new Colleges. It hath been the obſervation of ſome, That this buſineſs, like that proverbial Gold of *Tholouſe*, was fatal to thoſe that any way had a hand in it. We will hereafter ſhew what became of the Pope and the Cardinal. But of five, whom he made uſe of in the alienation of the Gifts of ſo many Religious men, it afterward happened, that two of them challenging the field of each other, one was ſlain, and the other hanged for it; a third throwing himſelf headlong into a Well, periſhed wilfully; a fourth, before that a wealthy man, ſunk to that low ebb, that he after begged his bread; and Dr. *Allen* the fifth, a man of eſpecial note, being Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, was murthered in *Ireland*.

demoliſheth forty Monaſteries.

Sacriledge puniſhed.

1525. *Ireland.* I could wiſh, that by theſe and the like examples, men would learn to take heed how they lay hands on things conſecrated to God. If the Divine Juſtice ſo ſeverely puniſhed thoſe that converted the abuſed (yet not regarding the abuſe, but following the ſway of their ambitious deſires) goods of the Church to undoubtedly better uſes; what can we expect of thoſe that take all occaſions to rob and ſpoil the Church, having no other end, but only the enriching of themſelves.

Luther had notice of *Henry* his intended Divorce, and that from *Chriſtiern* the expelled King of *Denmark*, who eagerly ſolicited him to write friendly unto the King; putting *Luther* in hope, that *Henry* being a courteous Prince, might by mild perſwaſions be induced to embrace the Reformation which *Luther* had begun. And indeed *Luther* foreſeeing the neceſſary conſequences of this Divorce, was eaſily intreated, and did write unto the King in this ſubmiſſive manner:

Luther writes to the King.

He doubted not but he had much offended his Majeſty by his late Reply: but he did it rather enforced by others, than of his own accord. He did now write, preſuming upon the King's much bruited humanity; eſpecially being informed, That the King himſelf was not Author of the Book againſt him, which thing he underſtood was captiouſly cavilled at by ſome Sophiſters. And having occaſion to ſpeak of the Cardinal of *York*, he called him *the Caterpillar of* England: *He underſtood, the King did now loath that wicked ſort of men, and in his mind to favour the Truth. Wherefore he craveth pardon of his Majeſty, beſeeching him to remember, that we being mortal, ſhould not make our enmities immortal. If the King would be pleaſed to impoſe it, he would openly acknowledge his fault, and blazon his Royal Virtues in another Book. Then he wiſhed him to ſtop his ears againſt thoſe ſlanderous tongues that branded him with Hereſie: for this was the ſumm of his Doctrine, That we muſt be ſaved through Faith in Chriſt, who did bear the puniſhment of our ſins in every part, and throughout his whole body, who dying for us, and riſing again, reigneth with the Father for ever. That he taught this to be the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles: and that out of this poſition he ſhewed, what Charity was, how we ought to behave our ſelves one towards another, that we are to obey Magiſtrates, and to ſpend our whole life in the profeſſion of the Goſpel. If this Doctrine contain any Impiety or Errour, why do not his Adverſaries demonſtrate it? Why do they condemn him without either lawful hearing or confutation? In that he inveigheth againſt the Pope and his Adherents, he doth it not without good reaſon; foraſmuch as for their profits ſake, they teach things contrary to what Chriſt and the Apoſtles did, that ſo they may domineer over the Flock, and maintain themſelves in Gluttony and Idleneſs. That this was the mark at which their thoughts and deeds aimed; and that it was ſo notorious, that they themſelves could not deny it. That if they would reform themſelves, by changing their idle and filthy courſe of life, maintained by the loſs and wrong of others,*

others, the differences might eaſily be compoſed. That his Tenets were approved by many Princes and Eſtates of Germany, *who did reverently acknowledge this great bleſſing of God, amongſt whom he wonderfully deſired he might rank his Majeſty. That the Emperour and ſome others oppoſed his proceedings, he did not at all wonder: for the Prophet* David *had many Ages ſince foretold, That Kings and Nations ſhould conſpire againſt the Lord and againſt his Chriſt, and caſt away his yoak from them. That when he did conſider this and the like places of Scripture, he did rather wonder that any Prince did favour the doctrine of the Goſpel. And to conclude, he craved a favourable Anſwer.* 1525.

The King made a ſharp Reply to *Luther*'s Letter, accuſing him of baſe Inconſtancy. He ſtands in defence of his Book, *which* (he ſaid) *was in great eſteem with many Religious and Learned men. That he reviled the Cardinal (a Reverend Father) was to be regarded as from him from whoſe impiety neither God nor man could be free. That both Himſelf and the whole Realm had found the profitable and wholeſom effects of the Cardinal's endeavours, who ſhould reap this fruit of* Luther*'s railing, that whereas he loved him very well before, he would now favour him more than ever: That among other of the Cardinal's good deeds, this was one, that he took eſpecial care, that none of* Luther*'s leproſie, contagion, and hereſie, ſhould cleave to, or take root in this Kingdom: Then he upbraided him with his inceſtuous marriage with a Nun, a crime as heinous and abominable as any.* *The King's Anſwer.*

At this Anſwer (which the King cauſed to be printed) *Luther* grieved much, blaming his friends that had occaſioned it, ſaying, *That he wrote in that humble manner only to pleaſe his Friends, and that he now plainly ſaw how much he was miſtaken. That he committed the like errour in writing friendly at the requeſt of others, to Cardinal* Cajetan, George *Duke of* Saxony, *and* Eraſmus, *the fruits whereof were, that he made them the more violent. That he ſhewed himſelf a fool, in hoping to find Piety and Zeal in Princes Courts, in ſeeking CHRIST in the Kingdom of Satan, in ſearching for* John Baptiſt *among the Cloathed in Purple. But being he could not prevail by fair means, he would take another courſe.*

The late mention of *Eraſmus* puts me in mind of a Book written by him either this or the year paſſed, at the entreaty of the King and the Cardinal (as he himſelf in an Epiſtle confeſſeth) entituled, *De Libero Arbitrio*; whereto *Luther* made a quick Reply, writing a Book *De Servo Arbitrio.*

ANNO DOM. 1526. REG. 18.

MAny reaſons might move the Emperour to ſeek the continuation of a Peace with *England.* The *French* (although they concealed it, their King being not yet at liberty) intend to revenge 1526. *A breach with the Emperour.*

1526. revenge their late overthrow: The *Turk* prepares for *Hungary*, the King whereof (*Lewis*) had married *Ann* the Emperour's Sister. Almoſt all *Italy* by the Pope's means combined againſt *Charles*, whoſe power is now become formidable: And *Germany* it ſelf, the Boors having lately been up in arms, being ſcarce pacified, doth yet every where threaten new tumults. In this caſe the enmity of *Henry* muſt neceſſarily much impeach his proceedings. But many things again urge him on the other ſide: his Aunts diſgrace; (for of this he long ſince had an inkling) the late League concluded under-hand with the *French*; but that which ſwaied above all, was, the diſlike of his promiſed match with the King's Daughter. That the Queen his Aunt might be reconciled to her Husband, there might yet be ſome hope. The League with *France* (eſpecially the *French* King's caſe being now ſo deſperate) might be as eaſily broken, as it was made: But this Match did no way ſort to his mind, which he had either for love, or for ſome other private reſpects, ſetled elſewhere. *Iſabella* Siſter to *John* King of *Portugal*, was a brave beautiful Lady, and had a Dowry of nine hundred thouſand Ducats. *Mary* was neither marriagable, nor beautiful; yet her by agreement muſt he marry without any other Dowry than thoſe four hundred thouſand Crowns which he had borrowed of *Henry*. The Wars had drawn his Treaſury dry, and his Subjects in *Spain* being required to relieve their Prince, do plainly (perhaps not without ſubornation of ſome principal perſons) deny it, unleſs he marry *Iſabella*, one in a manner of the ſame Lineage, of the ſame Language and Nation, and of years ſufficient to make a Mother. By way of ſervice (Cuſtom growing to a Law) they are to give their King at his Marriage four hundred thouſand Ducats: if he will in this be pleaſed to ſatisfie their requeſt, they promiſe to double the uſual ſumm. For theſe reaſons, when *Henry* ſent Ambaſſadors to treat again (whether ſincerely or no, I cannot ſay) concerning the renewing of the League, the Marriage of the Lady *Mary*, and of War in *France* to be maintained at the common charge of both; *Charles* anſwered but coldly, and at laſt even in the very Nuptial ſolemnities ſends to excuſe his Marriage to the King, whereunto the undeniable deſires of his Subjects had in a manner forced him. Some do farther add, that concerning that part of the Embaſſage, of War againſt *France*, our demands were ſuch, as if they had been purpoſely coined by *Wolſey* to force the Emperour to the priority of an apparent breach. For the King demanded no ſmaller ſhare in the Conqueſt, than *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Guien*, *Gaſcoign*, with the title of, King of *France*; and that the Emperour partaking both of Peril and Charge ſhould himſelf ſerve in Perſon. But *Charles* wanting money, and tired with continual peril, if he regard either his ſafety and eaſe, or his profit, muſt not give his aſſent, eſpecially conſidering, that the captive-King made larger offers,

offers, and thoſe with Peace, than theſe, yea although he became victorious, with War, the event whereof being always doubtful, no man can aſſure himſelf of wiſhed ſucceſs. Neither indeed did *Henry* expect any other iſſue of his Embaſſy, than a flat refuſal. For at the ſame time he deals with the Regent (the captive-King's Mother) to ſend over ſome truſty perſon, with whom he might conſult of the main chance; which ſhe gladly did, diſpatching away the Lord of *Brion* Preſident of *Rouen*, and *John Joachim* with a large Commiſſion, and Inſtructions by all ſubmiſſive and fair language to perſwade the King to perſiſt in the proſecution of this new League. For indeed ſhe much feared, leſt the conſideration of his advantages over the tottering Eſtate of *France* might make him flie off again. *France* was already diſtreſſed: what would it be, if the Emperour preſſing hard on the one ſide, and Duke of *Bourbon* a home-bred enemy revolting, beſides many other occaſions, the *Engliſh* ſhould infeſt it on the other ſide? In *England* theſe Agents found their entertainments ſuch, that they could not but hope well, eſpecially making means to the Cardinal, who yet ſwayed the King. *Wolſey* long ſince diſaffected the Emperour, but now made his hate apparent. *Charles* before the Battel of *Pavy* ſent no Letters to the Cardinal, but entirely written by himſelf, and ſubſcribed, *Your Son and Couſin*, CHARLES. 1526.

The King endeavours to relieve the French King.

After this Victory he ſent one or two, ſubſcribed barely with his Name, without the uſual ſolemn form, or any ſignification of favour or reſpect. Theſe were evident tokens of an alienated mind, and *Wolſey* durſt view hates with him. Neither did he deal otherwiſe with *Henry*, than as one beneath him; being now puffed up with the conceit of that great Victory, for the obtaining whereof *Henry* did bear a part in the charge, though indeed not ſo great as he promiſed. The King's affairs now ſtood upon thoſe terms, that renouncing the ſtrict alliance with the Emperour, hitherto by ſo many ties kept inviolable, he muſt make a party with the *French*.

Brion therefore at the Council-Table having audience, *Deplores his Prince's calamity, and the miſeries inflicted upon his Countrey by their late overthrow. He calleth to mind what Trophies the* Engliſh *erected in* France, *when the Eſtate of it was moſt flouriſhing, withal acknowledging, that* France *being now as it were in the Sun-ſet of its Fortune, occaſion was offered of advancing the* Engliſh *Colours farther than ever. But it would neither beſeem ſo magnanimous a King, nor would it be for the good of* England, *at this time to invade it. A generous mind ſcorneth to inſult over one already dejected. Neither would the Victory, beſide the fortune of War, want its dangers, being to be communicated with one, already become ſo potent, that no leſs than the united Forces of all* Europe *would ſerve to ſtop the current of his fortune; which muſt neceſſarily be done, unleſs we could be content willingly to undergo the miſeries of a* Spaniſh *ſervitude. He therefore*

1526. *craved of his Majeſty, that leaving the Emperour (who puffed up with his late ſucceſs, contemned his beſt Friends) he would vouchſafe to make a League with the King his Maſter, whom in this ſo great a time of need if he would be pleaſed to raiſe as it were from the ground, he ſhould by ſo great a benefit oblige him to a faithful Friendſhip, which he ſhould upon all occaſions be ready to manifeſt, unleſs for foul Ingratitude he had rather undergo the cenſure of the Chriſtian World.*

Having delivered thus much in *Latin*, Sir *Thomas More* (afterward Lord Chancellor) returned this anſwer in *Latin* likewiſe:

That the King was well pleaſed, that the French *acknowledged he wanted not power to revenge old injuries; that having felt his Force, they ſhould alſo taſt of his Bounty; that he would do the utmoſt of his endeavour to ſet their Captive King at liberty. Which if he effected, he hoped when he had occaſion to make uſe of their King, he would not be unmindful of ſo good a turn freely done in ſo urgent a ſeaſon. In the mean time he was content to make a perpetual Peace with them. As for the Emperour, he would conſider what to determine of him.*

A League concluded with the French *King.*

So a moſt firm League is concluded with the *French* (the Regent undertaking for her Son) and a ſeparation from the Emperour ſo openly made, that the firſt thing concluded between them was, That it ſhould not be lawful for the *French* King in lieu of his ranſom to conſign any part of his Kingdom to the Emperour. The *French* were glad of this League, who now began to conceive ſome hope of good, being ſecure of *England*. Indeed it made ſo great an impreſſion in the heart of *Francis*, that in his care of our affairs for many years together he ſhewed himſelf mindful of ſo great a benefit. Theſe things were done in the Winter ſeaſon.

The French *King ſet at liberty.*

A little after, *Francis* having been a year Priſoner in *Spain*, was upon theſe Conditions at length ſet at liberty:

That as ſoon as he came into France, *he ſhould conſign the Duchy of* Burgoigne *to the Emperour: That he ſhould quit the Sovereignty of* Flanders *and* Arthois: *That he ſhould renounce all his right pretended to the Duchy of* Milan *and Kingdom of* Naples: *That he ſhould reſtore to his honours the Duke of* Bourbon, *and the reſt that had revolted with him: That he ſhould marry* Eleonor *the Emperour's Siſter, Queen of* Portugal: *That he ſhould pay the whole ſumms of money heretofore due to the King of* England, *his Siſter the Queen of* France, *and Cardinal* Wolſey; The payment whereof the Emperour had undertaken, that we might not be endamaged by partaking with him.

For the performance of theſe and other things of leſs moment, *Francis* not only bound himſelf by Oath, but alſo delivered his two Sons, *Francis* the Daulphin, and *Henry* Duke of *Orleans*, who ſhould remain Hoſtages in *Spain* until all things were duly perfórmed. *Francis*, as ſoon as he entred into his Realm ratified all the Articles of the Treaty, but that concerning the Duchy of

Burgoigne,

Burgoigne, which he pretended he could not alienate without the conſent of his Subjects. Having therefore aſſembled the Eſtates of the Countrey for the debating of this matter, upon a ſudden in the preſence of the Emperour's Ambaſſadors is publickly proclaimed the League made between the Kings of *England* and of *France*, the Pope, the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and *Suiſſes*, (called the *Holy League*) for the common liberty of *Italy*. The Ambaſſadors much amazed, and ſeeing ſmall hopes of the Duchy of *Burgoigne* (for which they came) return into *Spain*, and advertiſe the Emperour, that if he will be content with a pecuniary ranſom, and free the two Princes, the King was willing to pay it; other Conditions he was like to have none. 1526.

The King of Hungary *ſlain by the* Turks.

In the mean time *Solyman* not forgetting to make his profit of theſe horrible confuſions, invaded *Hungary* with a great Army, overthrew the *Hungarians*, ſlew King *Lewis* the Emperour's Brother-in-Law, and conquered the greateſt part of the Kingdom. For the obtaining of this Victory our Raſhneſs was more available to him, than his own Forces. The *Hungarians* in compariſon of their Enemies were but a handful: but having formerly been many times victorious over the *Turks*, they perſwaded the young King that he ſhould not obſcure the ancient glory of ſo warlike a Nation: that not expecting the aids of *Tranſylvania*, he ſhould encounter the Enemy even in the open fields, where the *Turks* in regard of their multitudes of Horſe might be thought invincible. The event ſhewed the goodneſs of this counſel. The Army conſiſting of the chief ſtrength and Nobility of the Countrey was overthrown, a great ſlaughter made, and the King himſelf ſlain, with much of the Nobility and chief Prelates of the Realm, and among them *Tomoraus* Archbiſhop of *Colocza*, the chief author of this ill adviſed attempt.

I cannot omit an odd jeſt at the ſame time occaſioned by *Wolſey* his ambition. It was (but falſly) rumoured that Pope *Clement* was dead. The Cardinal had long been *ſick of the Pope*, and the King lately of *his Wife*. *Wolſey* perſwades the King, there was no ſpeedier way to compaſs his deſires, than if he could procure him to be choſen Pope, *Clement* being now dead. *Stephen Gardiner* a ſtirring man, one very learned and that had a working ſpirit, did then at *Rome* ſolicit the King's Divorce from Queen *Catharine*. Wherein although uſing all poſſible means, and that *Clement* was no friend to the Emperour, yet could he not procure the Pope's favour in the King's behalf. Nay, whether he would not cut off all means of reconciliation with the Emperour, if need were, or whether being naturally ſlow, he did not uſually diſpatch any matter of great moment ſpeedily; or peradventure (whereto the event was agreeable) that he perceived it would be for his profit to ſpin it out at length; or (which ſome alledge) that he was of opinion, that this Marriage was lawfully contracted, ſo that he could

Wolſey *ſeeks to be Pope*, Sede nondum vacante.

1526. could not give ſentence on either ſide without either offence to his Conſcience, or his Friend; the Pope could not be drawn to determine either way in this buſineſs. Theſe delays much vexed the King. If matters proceed ſo ſlowly under *Clement*, on whom he much preſumed, what could he expect from another Pope, one perhaps wholly at the Emperour's devotion? He therefore reſolved to endeavour the Advancement of *Wolſey* to the Chair; from whom he promiſed to himſelf a ſucceſs anſwerable to his deſires. *Henry* therefore ſends away ſpeedy Poſts to *Gardiner* with with ample inſtructions in the behalf of *Wolſey*, willing him to work the Cardinals, ſome with promiſes, others with gifts, ſome with threats, others with perſwaſions, and to omit no means that might be any way available. But this was to build Caſtles in the Air. The meſſenger had ſcarce ſet forth, when report that had made *Clement* dead, had again revived him.

ANNO DOM. 1527. REG. 19.

1527. THe ſixth of *May*, *Rome* was taken and ſacked by the Imperials under the conduct of the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was himſelf ſlain in the aſſault marching in the head of his Troops. The Pope, Cardinals, Ambaſſadors of Princes, and other Nobles hardly eſcaping into the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, were there for ſome days beſieged. At length, deſpairing of ſuccours, and victuals failing, the Pope, for fear he ſhould fall into the hands of the Lanſquenets for the moſt part ſeaſoned with *Luther*'s Doctrine, and therefore paſſionate enemies to the See of *Rome*, agreeth with the Prince of *Auranges* (after the death of the Duke of *Bourbon* choſen General by the Army) yielding himſelf and the Cardinals to him, who kept them cloſe Priſoners in the Caſtle. *Rome* was now ſubject to all kind of cruelty, and inſolencies uſual to a conquered City intended for deſtruction. Beſide Slaughter, Spoil, Rapes, Ruine, the Pope and Cardinals were the ſport and mockery of the licentious multitude. *Henry* pretended much grief at this news; but was inwardly glad that ſuch an occaſion was offered, whereby he might oblige *Clement* in all likelihood (as he had juſt cauſe) offended with the Emperour for this ſo inſolent and harſh proceeding. Whereupon he diſpatcheth *Wolſey* into *France*, who ſhould intimate to the King, his perpetual Ally, what a ſcandal it was to all Chriſtendom, that the Head of it ſhould be oppreſſed with Captivity, a thing which did more eſpecially concern *Francis* his affairs. The Cardinal ſet forth from *London* about the beginning of *July*, accompanied with nine hundred Horſe, among which were many Nobles; the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Lords *Sands*, *Montegle*, and *Harendon*, beſides many Knights and Gentlemen. *Wolſey* found the *French* King

Rome *ſacked.*

King at *Amiens*, where it is agreed, that at the common charge of both Princes, War ſhall be maintained in *Italy* to ſet the Pope at liberty, and to reſtore him to the poſſeſſions of the Church, *Henry* contributing for his part thirty thouſand Pounds ſterling a month. Upon the return of the Cardinal, *Francis* ſent into *England Montmorency* Lord Steward and Mareſchal of *France*, for the confirmation of this League, and to inveſt the King with the Order of St. *Michael*. He arrived in *England* about the middle of *October*, accompanied with *John Bellay* Biſhop of *Bayeux* (afterward Cardinal) the Lord of *Brion*, and among others *Martin Bellay* the Writer of the *French* Hiſtory, who in this manner deſcribes the paſſages of this Embaſſage: Montmorency *arriving at* Dover *was honourably received by many Biſhops and Gentlemen ſent by the King, who brought him to* London, *where he was met by twelve hundred Horſe, who conducted him to his lodging in the Biſhop of* London's *Palace. Two days after, he went by water to* Greenwich *four miles beneath* London, *where the King oft reſideth. There he was very ſumptuouſly entertained by the King and the Cardinal of* York. *Having had Audience, the Cardinal having often accompanied him at* London *and* Greenwich, *brought him to a houſe which he had built a little before, ten miles above* London, *ſeated upon the banks of* Thames, *called* Hampton Court. (The Cardinal gave it afterward to the King, and it is this day one of the King's chiefeſt houſes.) *The Ambaſſador with all his Attendants was there feaſted by him four or five days together. The Chambers had hangings of wonderful value, and every place did glitter with innumerable veſſels of Gold and Silver. There were two hundred and fourſcore Beds, the furniture to moſt of them being Silk, and all for the entertainment of Strangers only. Returning to* London, *we were on St.* Martin's *day invited by the King to* Greenwich *to a Banquet the moſt ſumptuous that ever I beheld, whether you conſider the Diſhes, or the Maſques and Plays, wherein the Lady* Mary *the King's Daughter acted a part. To conclude, the King and* Montmorency *having taken the Sacrament together, the King for himſelf,* Montmorency *in the behalf of* Francis *ſwore the obſervation of the League. The King beſtowed great gifts on every one, and diſmiſſed* Montmorency, *who left the Biſhop of* Bayeux *Leiger for his King, to endeavour the continuance of the amity begun between theſe Princes.*

1527.

Montmorency *Ambaſſador from* France.

Shortly after were ſent into *France* Sir *Thomas Bolen* Viſcount *Rochfort*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Knight, who together with *John Clerre* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Leiger in *France*, ſhould take the *French* King's Oath, not to violate the late League in any part, and to preſent him with the Order of the Garter.

We had now made *France* ours. Nothing remained, but to let the Emperour know the effects of the late Confederacy. To this end Sir *Francis Pointz* and *Clarencieux* King at Arms are diſpatched away to the Emperour, to demand the moiety of the booty

War proclaimed againſt the Emperour.

1527. booty gotten in the Battel of *Pavy*, and the Duke of *Orleans* (one of the *French* King's Sons left Hoſtage for his Father) to be delivered to *Henry*, who had born a ſhare in the charges of that War, and therefore expected to partake in the gains: To command him to draw his Army out of *Italy*, and not to diſturb the peace of Chriſtendom by moleſting *Chriſt*'s Vicar. This if he refuſed to do (neither was there expectation of any thing elſe) they ſhould forthwith defie him. They execute their Commiſſion, and perceiving nothing to be obtained, *Clarencieux* and a certain *French* Herald being admitted to the Emperour's preſence, do in the names of both King's proclaim War againſt him. *Charles* accepts it chearfully. But the Ambaſſadors of *France*, *Venice*, and *Florence* craving leave to depart, are committed to ſafe cuſtody, until it be known what is become of his Ambaſſadors with theſe Eſtates. The report hereof flies into *England*, and withal, that Sir *Francis Pointz* and *Clarencieux* were committed with the reſt. Whereupon the Emperour's Ambaſſador is detained until the truth be known, as it ſhortly was by the ſafe return of them both. But Sir *Francis Pointz* about the beginning of the next Summer died ſuddenly in the Court, being infected with the Sweating Sickneſs. The ſame happening to divers other Courtiers, and the infection ſpreading it ſelf over *London*, the Term was adjourned, and the King fain to keep a running Court. But theſe were the accidents of the enſuing year.

ANNO DOM. 1528. *REG.* 20.

1528. *The inconſtancy of the Pope.* POpe *Clement* was of himſelf naturally ſlow; but his own ends made him beyond the infirmity of his nature protract time in this cauſe concerning the King's Divorce. Bearing himſelf as neuter between the Emperour and the *French* King, he makes them both become jealous of him. And War being renewed in *Italy*, he perceives himſelf likely again to become a prey to the Conquerour. Which if it ſhould happen, he muſt betake himſelf to the King of *England*, of whoſe help he was certain, as long as his cauſe did uncertainly hang in ſuſpence. But if he ſhould determine in the behalf of the King, would he in gratitude be as beneficial, as hope (or fear of offending) had made him? That he much doubted.

These thoughts poſſeſſing the Pope, *Ceſar*'s affairs in *Italy* began to decline, almoſt all the Towns throughout the Realm of *Naples* out of hatred to the inſolent *Spaniard*, and affection to the *French*, making offer of their Keys, and receiving Garriſons of *French*. *Clement* therefore did not now much ſtand in awe of the Emperour, much againſt whoſe mind he was intreated to ſend a Legate into *England*, *Lawrence Campegius*, Cardinal and Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who

Cardinal Campegius *ſent into* England.

who together with the Cardinal of *York* ſhould have the hearing of this Cauſe ſo long controverted to no purpoſe. And the more to teſtifie his affection to the King, he did by a Decretal Bull (but privately drawn) pronounce the King's Marriage with *Catharine* to be void. This Bull was committed to the Legate, with theſe inſtructions, That having ſhewed it to the King and the Cardinal of *York*. He ſhould withal ſignifie to them, that he had authority to publiſh it: but not to give ſentence, until he received new inſtructions; telling him, that he was content the King ſhould enjoy the benefit of it (and it may be he was then ſo minded) but that it ſtood him upon to have this buſineſs delayed, until he had ſufficiently ſecured himſelf from the Emperour. Theſe were the pretences of the old Fox to the Legate. But his meaning was to make uſe of all ſeaſons, and to turn with the weather. The ninth of *October* to *London* comes the Legate, the King having given order to the City for his ſolemn entertainment. But the old man's infirmity fruſtrated their preparations: he was grievouſly tormented with the Gout, and would be privately brought into the City. After a few days reſt, carried in a Chair, he was brought to the King's preſence, to whom his Secretary made a *Latin* Oration, wherein having much complained of the extreme cruelty of the Imperials in the ſacking of *Rome*; he uſed many words to ſignifie, that the King's pious bounty ſhewed in his liberally relieving him in ſo needful a ſeaſon was moſt acceptable to the Pope and the whole College of Cardinals. To this ſpeech *Edward Fox* (afterward Biſhop of *Hereford*) returned an anſwer in *Latin*, wherein he declared, *That his Majeſty was much grieved at his Holineſs calamity, foraſmuch as man is naturally touched with a feeling of anothers miſeries. That He had not only performed what could be expected from him as a man; but had alſo done the part of a friend for a friend, and what was due from a Prince to Chriſt's Vicar on earth. He did therefore hope, that in regard of his filial obedience to the Holy See, if it ſhould happen that He ſhould ſtand in need of its aſſiſtance and authority, his Holineſs would be pleaſed readily to grant thoſe things, which it might beſeem a Son to crave of the common Mother.* Thus much paſſed in publick. The King and the Legates conferring in private, *Campegius* aſſured the King of the Pope's forwardneſs to pleaſure him. *Campegius* was indeed no bad man, and ſpake truly, what he thought. For *Clement* knowing how difficult a matter it was to deceive a man that was no fool, by one conſcious of the guile, and that was not deceived himſelf; made the Legate believe, that in this matter of the Divorce he would be ready to do for the King whatſoever he ſhould demand.

1528.

After theſe paſſages, the Legates ſpent ſix whole months in conſultation only concerning their manner of proceeding in the King's Divorce. In the mean time the King underſtanding, that among his Subjects, but eſpecially the women kind, this his action was

1528. much traduced, as if he took this courſe more to ſatisfie his Luſt, than his Conſcience; to give a ſtop to all farther rumours, having aſſembled all the Nobles of the Realm, Judges, Lawyers, and as many of the better ſort of Commons as could conveniently attend, upon the eighth of *November* made an Oration to this effect:

The King's Speech concerning his Divorce.

Twenty years have almoſt run their courſe (faithful and loving Subjects) ſince We firſt began Our Reign among you: In all which tract of time we have by God's aſſiſtance ſo behaved Our Self, that We hope We have neither given you cauſe to complain, nor our Enemies to glory. No forein power hath endeavoured ought againſt you, but to his own loſs; neither have We employed Our Arms any where, but We have triumphantly erected Our glorious Trophies. So that whether you conſider the ſweet fruits of plentiful Peace, or the glory of Our Warlike exploits, We dare boldly avouch, We have ſhewed Our Self not unworthy of Our Anceſtors, whom (without offence be it ſpoken) We have in all points equalled. But when we reflect upon the neceſſary end of Our frail life, We are ſurprized with fear, leſt the miſeries of future times ſhould ſo obſcure the ſplendour and memory of Our preſent felicity, that as the Romans *did after the death of* Auguſtus, *ſo you may hereafter be forced to wiſh with tears, either that We had never been, or might have perpetually lived to govern you. We ſee many here preſent, who in regard of their age might have been parties in the late Civil Wars, which for eighty years together ſo miſerably rended this Realm, no man knowing whom to acknowledge for his Sovereign, until the happy Conjunction of Our Parents did not reſolve, but took away all cauſe of farther doubt. Conſider then, whether after Our death you can hope for better days, than when the factions of* York *and* Lancaſter *diſtracted this Realm. We have a Daughter, whom we the more affectionately tender, becauſe ſhe is Our ſole Iſſue. But we would have you know, that having lately treated with Our dear Brother of* France, *concerning a match between this Our Daughter, and* Henry *Duke of* Orleans *his younger Son, both of Us were well pleaſed with this alliance, until one of his Privy Council made a queſtion of Our Daughter's birth; for it was much to be doubted, leſt ſhe were to be held illegitimate, being begotten of Us and that Mother, who had before been married to Our deceaſed Brother: ſaying, it was utterly repugnant to the Word of God, that any one ſhould marry his Brother's Widow; wherefore he was of opinion, that this match with Our moſt beloved Spouſe was to be deemed no other than inceſtuous. How grievouſly this relation afflicted Us, God the Searcher of Our hearts knows. For theſe words did ſeem to queſtion, not only Our dear Conſort, and Our Daughter, but even the very eſtate of Our Soul, which after death muſt neceſſarily undergo eternal and inevitable torments, if being admoniſhed of ſo horrible an Inceſt, We ſhould not endeavour an amendment; And for your parts, you cannot but foreſee how great dangers by reaſon of this doubt do threaten you and your Poſterity. Being therefore deſirous (as the caſe indeed required) to be reſolved in this point,*

point, we firſt conferred with Our Friends, and then with the moſt learned in the Laws both Divine and Humane; who indeed were ſo far from ſatisfying Us, that they left Us more perplexed. We therefore had recourſe to the Holy Apoſtolick See, to the Decree whereof we think it fitting, that Our Self and all others ſhould be obedient. To this and no other end (We call immortal God to witneſs) have we procured this Venerable Legate. As for the Queen Our moſt beloved Conſort, whatſoever women may tattle, or ill willers mutter in private, We do willingly and ingenuouſly profeſs, that in nobleneſs of Mind ſhe far tranſcends the greatneſs of her Birth: So that if We were now at liberty and free for a ſecond choice, We take God to witneſs, among all the plenty of the worlds Beauties we would not make choice of any other (if lawfully we might) than of this Our now Queen, one in regard of her mildneſs, wiſdom, humility, ſanctity of mind, and converſation (We are verily perſwaded) not to be paralleled. But when We conſider, that We are beſtowed on the world to other ends, than the purſuit of Our own pleaſures: we have thought it meet rather to undergo the hazard of an uncertain judgment, than to commit impiety againſt God the liberal Giver of all bleſſings, and ingratitude againſt Our Countrey, the weal and ſafety whereof each one ſhould prefer before his private life or fortunes. Thus much have you heard from Our own mouth. And we hope, that you will hereafter give no heed either to ſeditious detractions, or idle rumours of the people. 1528.

This Oration took according to the divers diſpoſitions of the hearers: ſome lamenting the Kings, but many more the Queens caſe, every one doubting, and fearful of the event. Some few weary of the preſent eſtate deſired a change even to worſe, rather than a continuance of the preſent. And by theſe the courſe the King had taken (not approved by the vulgar) as pious, and impoſed on him by his own and the publick neceſſity, was according to the nature of hopeful flattery, moſt highly applauded.

ANNO DOM. 1529. REG. 21.

AT length about the beginning of *April*, the King reſiding at *Bridewel*, at the *Black Friers* in *London* began the Suit concerning the King's Divorce. There was that to be ſeen, the like whereof the Hiſtories of no other Nation afford: A moſt puiſſant Monarch, actually Sovereign and bearing rule in his Realm, being cited by the voice of an Apparitor, made his appearance perſonally before the Judges. The Ceremonies in a matter ſo unuſual, and indeed otherwiſe of great moment, require an accurate and large relation, beyond the intended ſhortneſs of this Hiſtory. A Chair of State, whereto was an aſcent of ſome ſteps was placed above for the King, and by the ſide of it another (but a little lower) for the Queen. Before the King, at the fourth 1529.

The Suit of the King's Divorce.

1529.

ſtep ſate the Legates, but ſo, as the one ſeemed to ſit at his right hand, the other at the left. Next to the Legates ſtood the Apparitors and other Officers of the Court, and among them *Gardiner* (after Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) appointed Regiſter in this buſineſs. Before the Judges, within the limits of the Court, ſate the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with all the other Biſhops of the Realm. At the farther end of each ſide were the Advocates and Proctors retained for each party: For the King, *Sampſon* after Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Bell* after Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Tregonel*, and *Peters* Father to the now Lord *Peters*, all Doctors of Law: For the Queen, *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Standiſh* Biſhop of St. *Aſſaph*, with *Ridley* (Doctor, whether of Divinity or Law I know not, but one) who had the eſteem of a very Learned man. All things being thus formally ordered, the Apparitor willed by the Regiſter to cite the King, cryed, Henry *King of* England *come into the Court*, who anſwered, *Here I am.* The Queen being likewiſe cited (Catharine *Queen of* England *come into the Court*) made no anſwer, but riſing from her ſeat went directly to the King, to whom on her knees, purpoſely raiſing her voice that every one might hear her, ſhe is reported to have ſpoken to this effect:

The Queens ſpeech to the King before the Legates.

Sir, I humbly beſeech your Majeſty ſo to deal with me at this preſent, that I may neither have cauſe to complain of Injuſtice, nor that you have debarred me the favour of your wonted Clemency. I am here a Woman and a Stranger, deſtitute of Friends and Counſel, ſo that plead for my ſelf I cannot, and whom I may elſe employ, I know not. My kindred and Friends are far off, neither can I ſafely rely on any here in a matter of ſo great conſequence. They that are here retained for me, are no other, than whom you have been pleaſed to appoint, and are your own Subjects; who if they would deal uprightly (which few will believe they dare do) yet can they not here withſtand your determinate will and pleaſure. But what have wretched I committed, that after twenty years ſpent in peaceable Wedlock, and having born you ſo many Children, you ſhould now at length think of putting me away? I was I confeſs the Widow of your Brother, if at leaſt ſhe may be accounted a Widow, whom her Husband never knew. For I take Almighty God to witneſs, and I am perſwaded you cannot be ignorant of it, that I came to your bed an unſpotted Virgin; from which time how I have behaved my ſelf, I am content to appeal even to them, whoſoever they are, that do wiſh me leaſt good. Certainly whatſoever their Verdict may be, you have always found me a moſt faithful (Servant I may better ſay, than) Wife, having never to my knowledge withſtood your pleaſure ſo much as in ſhew. I always loved thoſe, whom I thought you favoured, without queſtioning their deſerts. I ſo carefully furthered and procured your pleaſures, that I rather fear, I have offended God in too much endeavouring your content, than that I have any way failed in the leaſt performance of my duty. By this my obſervance unto you, if ſo be you ever thought it worthy of regard, by our common Iſſue, by the

1529.

the memory of my Father, whom you ſometimes held dear, I do humbly beg, that you would be pleaſed to defer the farther hearing of this cauſe, until having ſent into Spain, *I may thence be adviſed by my Friends, in this caſe what courſe to take. If then in Juſtice it ſhall be thought meet to rend me from you, a part of whom I have ſo long been (the apprehenſion whereof doth more terrifie me, than death) I will even in this continue my long obſerved courſe of obedience. But as often as I bethink me of the wiſdom of Our Parents, by whoſe endeavours and conſent this Match was ratified, I cannot but hope very well of my cauſe. Your Father was for his admirable wiſdom accounted a ſecond* Solomon, *neither can* Spain *throughout the whole Succeſſions of the Kings of ſo many Kingdoms produce any one, who may parallel my Father* Ferdinand: *And what kind of Counſellors muſt we think theſe Princes had, that all ſhould as it were conſpire to hurl Us into the miſeries of an inceſtuous Marriage? No queſtion was then made concerning the lawfulneſs of this Match, and yet thoſe times afforded learned men, yea and (whereof to my harm I have had experimental knowledge) in holineſs of life and love of the Truth far ſurpaſſing the Flatterers of theſe times.* (Which laſt words ſhe therefore ſpake, becauſe ſhe had heard, that all the Biſhops of the Realm had by a common Decree pronounced againſt the Marriage. And indeed ſuch a Decree ſubſcribed and ſealed by each of them was afterward in the preſence of the King read publickly in the Court, *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* excepting againſt it, who denied, that he had aſſented to it, and objected forgery to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for putting to it inſtead of Biſhop *Fiſher's*, a falſe Seal and a counterfeit hand.)

The Queen departeth.

The Queen having ſpoken thus much, ariſing, after her due obeiſance to the King, when every one expected ſhe would have returned to her ſeat, made haſt out of the Court. Every one amazedly wonders what the Queen intends. But before ſhe had gone far, the King commanded the Apparitor to call her back again: The Apparitor obeying, the Gentleman who ſupported her, told her ſhe was called; to whom ſhe replied; *I hear it very well, but go you on. I cannot hope for juſtice in this Court: let them proceed againſt me in what manner they will, I am reſolved not to ſtay.* So away ſhe went, and would never after be perſwaded to make her appearance either perſonally or by a Proctor. After ſhe was gone, the King commended her in thoſe terms, that might befit a great affection and her excellent virtues: Withal proteſting *how deſirous he was to continue in that eſtate, ſo that neither his Soul nor the Common-wealth might be endangered by it.* Here *Wolſey* interrupted him, *beſeeching his Majeſty, that foraſmuch as it was bruited, that he had perſwaded Him to this Divorce, His Majeſty would vouchſafe to ſignifie to the preſent Aſſembly how far this report was true.* The King, although that he knew that in this fame lied not, yet to ſecure his Favourite from the general hate of the people, affirmed, the Biſhop of *Bayeux* having firſt made ſcruple of it,

to

1529. to have firſt adviſed him to this courſe, and that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* his Confeſſor, and other Biſhops with whom he had conferred, did the like. Theſe were the Acts of the firſt day.

This caſe was for a month or two held in controverſie, the King's Advocates alledging, that

Reaſons for the Divorce. *It was not in the Pope's power to ratifie this Marriage, which as prohibited by the Law of Nature the Scripture had pronounced unlawful: That* Catharine *had been lawfully married to Prince* Arthur *the King's elder Brother, and that the Nuptials were publickly ſolemnized, no man could deny; and many circumſtances did manifeſt the conſummation of the Marriage by a carnal conjunction.*

On the other ſide the Queens Advocates maintained,

Reaſons againſt the Divorce. *The Law which forbad the* Jews *to marry their Brother's Wife, to be* Judicial *and not* Moral, *and therefore abrogated by* Chriſt: *but ſo far forth as the Church had retained it, it was by the authority of the ſame Church diſpenſable, eſpecially being they were confident, that the forealledged conſummation could no way be proved.*

Thus each ſide pleaded, and time paſſed on. The King obſerves Cardinal *Campegius* to go more coldly to work than he was wont, from whom he before this expected the promiſed deciſion. But *The Pope's inconſtancy.* Fortune had ſince that turned her Wheel. The Emperour's affairs proſpered in *Italy*, and *Clement* knew it was not the way to wipe out the remembrance of an old offence by committing a new. He found ſome other pretence to ſend one *Francis Campana* into *England*; but his chief errand was to will *Campegius* to burn the Bull, whereby the King's Marriage had before been pronounced void, and to return to *Rome* with ſpeed. But the news of the Pope's ſickneſs at the ſame time made him defer the execution of his Mandate. For if *Clement* ſhould die, the Cardinal might with ſafety gratifie the King, who had conferred on him the Biſhoprick of *Sarisbury*, and to whom the Cardinal had promiſed ſucceſs anſwerable to his deſires: And if he ſhould permit the King to be thus illuded, he feared he might be accounted, not only ingrateful, but alſo treacherous. But he ſhortly underſtood the Pope was well, whoſe Mandate he muſt obey, and the Bull as if for *Hereſie* muſt be condemned to the fire.

In the mean time the King, who was deeply in love with *Ann Bolen*, according to the nature of Lovers counting each minute by the hour, quickly reſented this change, and never reſted, until he knew the whole carriage of the matter. Then firſt fell his *Wolſey falls.* wrath like thunder on *Wolſey*, whoſe Wit had hitherto made all his projects feaſible: And he could not believe, but that it was in his power to effect this alſo. Here I cannot chuſe but cry out with the Comedian,

Ὡς ἀργαλεὸν πρᾶγμ' ἐστὶν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί,
Δῆλον γενέσθαι παραφρονοῦντος δεσπότου;

Jove

1529.

Jove and ye gods, how hard a thing
It is, to ſerve a raging King?

Full twenty years had *Wolſey* ſerved the King, behaving himſelf ſo, that he grew powerful and wealthy beyond a private fortune, and to the reſt of the King's Titles had procured the addition of that rich one of, *a good Prince.* For as often as I conſider how laudably *Henry* had hitherto ruled, and behold the calamities of enſuing times, I cannot but accord with them, who aſcribe the ſway which he did bear over all the Princes of Chriſtendom to the excellency of *Wolſey* his Counſels. But *Wolſey* being taken away, to whom ſhall we impute thoſe effects of Luſt, Tyranny, and Avarice; two Wives killed, two put away; ſo many (and among them many of the greater ſort) put to death for their Religion only, extremity only differing in the manner uſed by Hanging againſt Papiſts, by Fire againſt Hereticks, (theſe were the terms of thoſe days) and the Church (or rather the Commonwealth) horribly ſpoiled and robbed of her Patrimony? Certainly had *Wolſey* ſate at the Stern, the King had never like a Ship deſtitute of a Pilot, been carried to and fro with ſuch contrary and uncertain motions. But inordinate greatneſs is always a burthen to it ſelf, the weight whereof is augmented by the uſual attendance of publick *envy* and *hatred*, the misbegotten Elves of long and powerful happineſs.

Wolſey, the King once offended began preſently to totter, and at his firſt frown as at the roaring of a Lion (before any harder courſe was taken with him) was ſo dejected, that although he after ſeemed a little to lift up his head, yet was he never able to ſtand on his feet. Nay, the King being once alienated from him would never after admit him to his preſence. Behold the power of baſe Detraction (yet I will not exclude the greatneſs of the Cardinal's wealth already devoured in conceit) which wipes away the remembrance of the faithful ſervice of ſo many years, and the conſideration of ſo great glory purchaſed to the King by *Wolſey*'s labours. I am not ignorant what things were objected againſt him. But they carry ſo little ſhew of probability, that I ſhould much ſuſpect his judgment, that would give any credit to them. Until it was known that the King enraged at the ſlow proceedings in the cauſe of his Divorce, did day and night breathe out againſt him threats and revenge, no man ever preferred Bill againſt him; which, conſidering the uſual ſevere courſes held by our Parliaments, muſt needs acquit him of Abuſe of Power. As for the cauſes of the King's anger, we will derive them rather from his own diſcontents, than *Wolſey*'s faultineſs.

The King by this time knew the treachery of the diſſembling Pope. He had near five years wandered in the Labyrinth of the Court of *Rome*, and could find no clew to lead him out. He therefore

1529. therefore determined to make a way where he could not find one, and like *Alexander* by force to undo that *Gordian* Knot, which by wit and labour he could not. To *Wolſey* therefore he communicated his intent of marrying another whether the Pope were willing or no, wiſhing him withal to find out ſome courſe or other, whereby *Campegius* his Collegue (notwithſtanding the late Mandates to the contrary) might be drawn to give ſentence on his ſide. Many things might be pretended to excuſe the deed, but chiefly the fear of the King's high diſpleaſure, which peradventure he ſhould feel too, unleſs he aſſented to the King's juſt requeſt. *Wolſey* his anſwer to this I cannot relate. But this is certain, that *Wolſey*, whether for that he did not approve of the King's intended courſe ſeeming (as the times were then) full of raſhneſs and inſolence, or that he would not undertake the attempting of his Collegue, or that (as *Sleidan* writes) the King had notice, that the Cardinal had adviſed the Pope not to approve of the Divorce from *Catharine*, foraſmuch as the King was then reſolved to marry another infected with *Lutheraniſm*: *Wolſey* I ſay was ſo ſharply taken up and threatned by the King, that even then you might read in his face and geſtures the ſymptoms of his waining fortune. For the Cardinal at that time returning from the Court by water, the Biſhop of *Carliſle* being with him in the ſame Barge, complained of the heat which was then extraordinary; to whom *Wolſey* replied, *My Lord, if you had been but now in my place, you would have found it hot indeed.* And as ſoon as he came home, he put off his clothes, and went ſick to bed. Before he had repoſed himſelf an hour and half, the Viſcount *Rochfort* came to him, and in the King's Name willed, that he and his Collegue ſhould inſtantly repair to the Queen, and exhort her not to contend any longer with the King, for that it would be more for her good and the honour of them both to ſubmit her ſelf to the King's pleaſure, than to undergo the diſgrace of a publick judgment. For it was now brought to that puſh, that longer deferred it could not be. The Cardinal adverti ſed of the King's pleaſure did ariſe, and with his Collegue went to the Queen, who having notice of their coming, went forth and met them. After mutual ſalutations, the Cardinals deſired ſhe would vouchſafe a few words in private, but the Queen refuſed to entertain any conference with them but where ſhe might have witneſſes of what paſſed. *Wolſey* then began to ſpeak in *Latin*, but the Queen interrupted him, willing, that although ſhe underſtood *Latin*, yet he ſhould ſpeak in *Engliſh*. So in the names of both Legates he began a Speech in *Engliſh*, wherein *he profeſſed a great deal of obſervance and duty to her, and that they came to no other end but to adviſe her for her good.* The Queen anſwered them much after this manner:

The Legates repair to the Queen.

Their conference with her.

Her anſwer.

As for your good will, I thank you: as for your advice, I will give you

you the hearing. But the matter (I believe) about which you come, is of ſo great importance, that it will require a great deal of deliberation, and the help of a brain ſurpaſſing that of feminine weakneſs. You ſee my employments (ſhewing them a ſkain of white thred hanging about her neck) *in theſe I ſpend my time among my Maids, which indeed are none of the greateſt Counſellors: yet I have none other in* England, *and* Spain *(where they are on whom I dare rely) God wot is far enough hence: yet I am content to hear what you have to ſay, and will give you an anſwer when we can conveniently.* 1529.

So taking the Cardinal by the hand, ſhe brought them into a withdrawing Room, where having attentively heard out their meſſage, ſhe made this reply:

That now after twenty years the lawfulneſs of my Marriage ſhould be queſtioned, I cannot ſufficiently wonder, eſpecially when I conſider who were the Authors of it: Many of them are yet alive both in England *and* Spain: *and what kind of men the reſt were, who are now dead; the world knows:* Henry *and* Ferdinand *our Parents the moſt ſage Princes of their time, and their Counſel ſuch without doubt, who for their wiſdom were approved of as fit ſervants for ſo juditious Maſters, beſides the Pope, whoſe Diſpenſation I have to ſhew, and which was procured by my Father at no ſmall rate. But what thing is there ſo ſincere and firm, which envy will not ſeek to blaſt. Of theſe my miſeries I can accuſe none but you, my Lord of* York. *Becauſe I could not away with your monſtrous pride, exceſſive riot, whoredom, and intolerable oppreſſion, therefore do I now ſuffer. And yet not only for this: for ſome part of your hatred I am beholding to my Nephew the Emperour, whom, for that he did not ſatisfie your inſatiable ambition by advancing you to the Papacy, you have ever ſince maligned. You threatned to be revenged on him and his Friends, and you have performed your promiſe; for you have been the only incendiary and plotter of all the miſchief and Wars againſt him theſe late years. And I am his Aunt, whom how you have perſecuted, by raiſing this new doubt, God only knows, to whoſe judgment only I commend my cauſe.*

This ſhe ſpake in *French*, as it ſeemed very much moved, and would not endure to hear *Wolſey* ſpeak in defence of himſelf, but courteouſly diſmiſſed *Campegius*.

It was now *June*, and the Harveſt drawing on, the Legates thought it high time to make an end of this Suit. A day therefore being prefixed, many of Nobility, and a multitude of the Commonalty repaired to the Court, verily expecting, that judgment ſhould have been given for the King. *Henry* (having I know not how conceived ſome hope of the Legates good intents) cauſed a ſeat to be placed for himſelf behind the hangings, under the covert whereof he might unſeen hear whatſoever was ſpoken or paſſed in Court. The Cardinals being ſeated, the King's Advocates earneſtly requiring that ſentence might be given on

1529.

Cardinal Campegius *his Oration.*

their ſide, *Campegius* made this Oration, well beſeeming the conſtancy of a man not unworthy of the place he ſupplied.

I have heard and diligently examined whatſoever hath been alledged in the King's behalf. And indeed the arguments are ſuch, that I might and ought pronounce for the King, if two reaſons did not controll and curb my deſires of doing his Majeſty right: The Queen (you ſee) withdraws her ſelf from the judgment of this Court, having before us excepted againſt the partiality of the place, where (ſhe ſaith) nothing can be determined without the conſent of the Plaintif. Moreover his Holineſs (who is the fountain and life of our authority) hath by a meſſenger given us to underſtand, that he hath reſerved this cauſe for his own hearing; ſo that if we would never ſo fain proceed any farther, peradventure we cannot, I am ſure we may not. Wherefore (which only remaineth) I do here diſſolve the Court: Other than this (as the caſe ſtands) I cannot do; and I beſeech them, whom this Cauſe concerns, to take in good part what I have done. Which if they will not, although it may trouble me, yet not ſo much, as to regard the threats of any one. I am a feeble old man, and ſee death ſo near me, that in a matter of ſo great conſequence neither hope, nor fear, nor any other reſpect, but that of the Supreme Judge, before whom I find my ſelf ready to appear, ſhall ſway me.

How the King was pleaſed at this you may eaſily conceive. It is reported, that the Duke of *Suffolk* knowing the King to be preſent, and conſcious of his infirmity, in a great rage leaping out of his Chair, bountifully beſtowed a volley of curſes upon the Legates, ſaying, *It was never well with* England, *ſince it had any thing to do with Cardinals.* To whom *Wolſey* returned a few words, ſaying, *That it was not in his power to proceed without Authority from the Pope, and that no man ought to accuſe them for not doing that, whereto their power did not extend.*

But the King's implacable anger admitted of no excuſe: *Wolſey* himſelf muſt become a Sacrifice to appeaſe it. As for *Campegius*, he taſted neverthleſs of the King's bounty, and had leave to depart. But at *Calais* his carriages were ſearched by the King's command. The pretence was, that *Wolſey* intending an eſcape, had by *Campegius* conveyed his treaſures for *Rome*. But the Bull was the Treaſure ſo much ſought after. The King could not believe it was burned; and if it were found, it was enough to countenance his ſecond Marriage. But found it was not, no nor ſcarce ſo much money in all the Cardinal's carriages, as had been given him by the King.

Wolſey his riſing and his fall were alike ſudden; neither of them by degrees, but as the Lion gets his prey, by leaps. Shortly after the departure of his Collegue, upon the eighteenth of *October*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* in his Majeſties name commanded him to ſurrender the Great Seal. But he pleaded, *That the King had by Patent made him Lord Chancellour during term of life, and by*

Wolſey diſcharged of the Great Seal.

con-

1529.

conſequence committed the cuſtody of the Great Seal to him: Nevertheleſs he would reſign his place, if his Majeſty ſo commanded. But he thought it not fit, having received the Seal from the King, to deliver it to any other, but upon eſpecial Command. The Lords returning to *Windſor* where the Court then was, the next day brought the King's Letters, whoſe Mandate the Cardinal forthwith obeyed. In this Dignity the ſix and twentieth of *October* Sir *Thomas More* ſucceeded, whoſe admirably general Learning is ſo well known to the world, that I ſhall not need to ſpeak any thing of it.

Sir Thomas More *Lord Chancellour.*

Wolſey being removed from the Chancellorſhip is preſently after accuſed of Treaſon, and that (which hath been ſeldom ſeen) in the Parliament, that ſo without hearing he might be condemned by Act. But he perceiving the drift of his Adverſaries, procured one of his attendants *Thomas Cromwel* (he who afterward became ſo potent) to be elected a Burgeſs of the Lower Houſe. The Cardinal being daily informed by him what things were laid to his charge, did by Letter inſtruct him what to anſwer. *Cromwel* although no Scholar, was very wiſe and eloquent. Which good parts he ſo faithfully employed in the defence of his Lord, that the Houſe acquitted him, and himſelf became famous; opening withal by theſe means a way to thoſe Honours, to which the current of a few years advanced him. Even they who hated *Wolſey*, honoured *Cromwel*, whoſe wiſdom, induſtry, but above all, fidelity in defending his dejected Lord, was admirable.

The Cardinal accuſed of Treaſon.

Now the Cardinal becauſe he would not be found a Traytor, is faln into a *Præmunire*. Whereupon he is thruſt as it were naked forth his own houſe, his great wealth is ſeized on by the King's Officers, and he fain to borrow furniture for his houſe, and money for his neceſſary expences. Judges are ſent into the houſe whereto he was confined, to take his anſwer to the objected crime, which was, that without leave from the King he had dared ſo many years to exerciſe his power Legatine. To which calumny (for can any man believe it to be other) he made this anſwer:

Wolſey's *Speech to the Judges.*

I am now ſixty years old, and have ſpent my days in his Majeſties ſervice, neither ſhunning pains, nor endeavouring any thing more, than (next my Creatour) to pleaſe him. And is this that heinous offence, for which I am at this age deprived of my Eſtate, and forced as it were to beg my bread from door to door? I expected ſome accuſation of a higher ſtrain, as Treaſon, or the like; not for that I know my ſelf conſcious of any ſuch matter, but that his Majeſties wiſdom is ſuch, as to know, it little beſeems the conſtancy and magnanimity of a King for a ſlight fault to condemn, and that without hearing, an ancient ſervant, for ſo many years next his Perſon, greateſt in his favour, and to inflict a puniſhment on him more horrid than death.

1529. *What man is he, who is ſo baſe minded, that he had not rather a thouſand times periſh, than ſee a thouſand men (ſo many my Family numbreth) of whoſe faithful ſervice he hath had long tryal, for the moſt part to periſh before his eyes? But finding nothing elſe objected, I conceive great hope, that I ſhall as eaſily break this machination of combined envy, as was that late one againſt me in the Parliament, concerning Treaſon. It is well known to his Majeſty (of whoſe juſtice I am confident) that I would not preſume to execute my power Legatine, before he had been pleaſed to ratifie it by his Royal Aſſent given under his Seal; which notwithſtanding I cannot now produce, that and all my goods (as you well know) being taken from me. Neither indeed if I could, would I produce it. For to what end ſhould I contend with the King? Go therefore, and tell his Majeſty, that I acknowledge all that I have (but alas what ſpeak I of what I have, who indeed have nothing left me?) or whatſoever I had, to be derived from his Royal Bounty, and do think it good reaſon, that he ſhould revoke his gifts, if he think me unworthy of them. Why then do I not remit my cauſe to his Majeſty's arbitrement, at his pleaſure to be either condemned or abſolved? To him then if you will have me acknowledge my fault, behold, I will make ſhort work with you, I confeſs it. The King knows my innocency, ſo that neither my own confeſſion, nor the calumnies of of my adverſaries can deceive him. I am therefore content to confeſs my ſelf guilty. His Majeſty from the fountain of his natural Clemency doth often derive the ſtreams of his mercy to the delinquent: And I know, though I ſhould not deſire it, He will regard my innocency.*

Upon his confeſſion, the penalty of the Law was forthwith inflicted, only he was not, as the Law requires, committed to perpetual impriſonment. The furniture of his houſe of infinite value, incredible ſtore of Plate and great Treaſure had been already ſeiſed to the King's uſe. There remained nothing but the Lands wherewith he intended to endow his Colledge, the greateſt part whereof were his own purchaſe, the reſt were the demeſnes of the demoliſhed Monaſteries. Theſe Lands amounted to above four thouſand pounds *per annum*, and were all confiſcated. But God would not ſuffer ſo brave a work to periſh. The King afterward beſtowed on the Colledge in *Oxford* called *Chriſt-Church*, revenues for the maintenance of a Dean, eight Prebendaries, a hundred Students, twelve Chaplains and Singing men, and four and twenty Alms-men, for which this Colledge acknowledgeth *Henry* the Eighth for its Founder. But the King arrogated to himſelf what was truly to be aſcribed to the Cardinal; who was now in the caſe of the poor Mouſe, whom the Cat intends to devour. The King had marked him out for deſtruction, yet permitted him to live, but ſo, as that he could never eſcape, and yet never deſpair of eſcaping. Scarce any day throughout thoſe few months paſſed, wherein he endured not ſomething or other, that would have animated a ſenſleſs thing with anger: neither

Chriſt-Church in Oxford.

was

was the Cardinal compoſed of patience, yet did he never deſpair. His ſorrows were always tempered with ſome mixture of joy: For he was often viſited from the King, but that very ſecretly, and commonly by night; often certified of the King's affection towards him, in token whereof the Viſitants did ſometimes from the King preſent him with a Jewel or ſome ſuch thing; willing him to be of good comfort, for that ſhortly, they would aſſure him, he ſhould be raiſed to his former degree of favour and power. 1529.

Adverſity at length prevailing, he fell into a diſeaſe, from the extremity whereof few expected his recovery. And the King demanding of one of his Phyſicians (whoſe patient the Cardinal was) what diſeaſe *Wolſey* had, the Doctor replied, *What diſeaſe ſoever he hath, if you deſire his death, you may be ſecure, for I promiſe you he will not live to ſee the end of three days more.* The King ſtriking the table with his hand, cryed out, *I had rather loſe twenty thouſand Pounds than he ſhould dye: Make haſt therefore you, and as many other Phyſicians as are about the Court, and by all means endeavour his recovery.* The Phyſician then certifying him, that he was ſick, more in mind, than body; the King diſpatched away a Gentleman with a Ring, which *Wolſey* had formerly given to him, willing him withal to tell the Cardinal, that the King's anger was now paſt, who was ſorry that he had ſo long given ear to detraction; and that he ſhould ſhortly find, that the King's affection towards him was no leſs, than when he flouriſhed moſt in the ſun-ſhine of his favour. The ſame comfortable words being again and again ingeminated by divers others ſent for that purpoſe, the Cardinal in a few days recovered his former health. *Wolſey falls ſick.*

At Court each one aſpired to riſe by *Wolſey* his fall. But now jealous leſt the King intended a real and ſincere reconciliation, and fearing revenge from him whom they had injured, work all their wits to ſupplant him. At, or about *London* he was too near the Court, ſome trick muſt be had to ſend him farther. *Wincheſter* (the Biſhoprick whereof he held in *Commendam*) was not far enough off. Why then ſhould he not (ſaid they) being not detained at *London* as Lord Chancellor, betake himſelf to the government of his Archbiſhoprick of *York?* So having a thouſand Pounds aſſigned him by the King (whoſe Council thought Marks ſufficient) about the end of *March* in the enſuing year he ſet forward towards *York.* Of all his Livings they leave him only the Archbiſhoprick of *York* wherewith to maintain him, the revenues whereof might be valued at four thouſand Pounds *per annum.* The ſpeech of *Seneca* concerning *Apicius*, why may I not apply it to the preſent ſtate of *Wolſey? How great was his Luxury, who deemed the income of four thouſand Pounds, poverty?* *Wolſey is confined to York.*

And now it were requiſite that we ſhould proceed to the year 1530. But let us firſt behold the end of this great Cardinal. That Summer

1529. Summer he ſpent at *Cawood*, a Mannor-houſe belonging to the See of *York*, where by his mildneſs, juſtice, and liberality, he did ſo win the hearts of his Dioceſans, that he was both admired and loved. He ſeemed to be much delighted with this ſolitary confinement; for that having hitherto been toſſed in the Court to and fro as in a tempeſt, he had now eſcaped, not from ſhipwrack to a Rock, but to his deſired Haven of repoſe. Yet notwithſtanding upon any the leaſt hope of recovering his former power (although he profeſſed, that converted by an Anchorite of *Richmond* he had bid adieu to the vanities of the World) he could not conceal the greatneſs of his joy. That he failed of his hopes (which indeed were none of the leaſt) I cannot aſſent to them, who impute it to the importunity of his potent Adverſaries. For to what end ſerved ſo many meſſages full of gracious and reconciliatory promiſes, but ever intermixed with inſufferable diſgraces the forerunners of a dire Cataſtrophe? Certainly to no other, than that he might be wrought one way or other to approve of, and give ſentence for the King's Divorce (at leaſt) as Archbiſhop *Cranmer* after did.

The Cardinal is apprehended. But this courſe not prevailing, they intend a ſecond accuſation of Treaſon. To this purpoſe the Earl of *Northumberland* is ſent to apprehend, and (as he was amazed at this ſudden change) bring him to his anſwer to *London*. But by the way he fell ſick of a diſeaſe, which at *Leiceſter*-Abbey ſecured him from all other. Being near his end, it is reported Sir *William Kingſton* (who lately came thither with ſome of the King's Guard) exhorted him to be of good comfort, for that the King (in whoſe name he ſaluted him) had ſent for him to no other end, but that he might clear himſelf from thoſe things, which malice and detraction had forged againſt him: neither did he doubt, but that ſhortly he ſhould ſee him more potent than ever, if out of puſillanimity he gave not too much ſcope to the violence of his diſcontented paſſions. Whereto the Cardinal in theſe his laſt words replied:

His laſt words. *I am as truly glad to hear of his Majeſty's health, as I truly know my death to be at hand; I have now been eight days together troubled with a Flux accompanied with a continual Fever, which kind of diſeaſe, if within eight days it remit nothing of its wonted violence, by the conſent of all Phyſicians threatneth no leſs than death, peradventure an evil beyond death, diſtraction. But grown weak, and my diſeaſe raging more and more, I do each minute expect, when God will be pleaſed to free this ſinful ſoul from this loathſom priſon of the body. But ſhould my life be a little prolonged, do you think I perceive not what traps are laid for me? You Sir* William *(if I miſtake not) are Lieutenant of the* Tower, *and I gueſs for what you come. But God hath juſtly rewarded me for neglecting my due ſervice to him, and wholly applying my ſelf to his Majeſty's pleaſure. Woe is me, wretch and ſot that I am, who have been ungrateful to the King of kings! whom if I had ſerved with that*

that due devout obſervance that befits a Chriſtian, he would not have forſaken me in the evening of my age. I would I might be a general example (even to the King himſelf) how ſlipperily they ſtand in this world, who do not above all things rely upon the firm ſupport of GOD's Favour and Providence. Salute his Majeſty from me, and deliver this my laſt petition unto him, which is, That he live mindful of the tryal he muſt undergo before GOD's high Tribunal; ſo ſhall he by the ſecret teſtimony of his own conſcience free me from thoſe crimes wherewith my adverſaries ſeek to burthen me. 1529.

More he would have ſpoken, but his ſpeech failed him, and death preſently enſued. His body apparelled in his Pontifical Robes, after it had all that day (for he expired at the very break of day) been expoſed to open view, was at midnight without any ſolemnity buried in our Ladies Chappel, in the Church of the Monaſtery. Thus unhappily ended Cardinal *Wolſey*, his long happy life; than whom *England*, no nor I believe all *Europe*, if you except the Biſhops of *Rome*, ever ſaw a more potent Prelate. His retinue conſiſted of near about a thouſand perſons, among which were one Earl, commonly nine Barons, many Knights and Gentlemen, and of Officers belonging to his houſe above four hundred, beſides their Servants, which far exceeded the former number. His Chappel was ſerved by a Dean, a Sub-dean, a Chanter, thirty five Singers, whereof thirteen were Clergy, twelve Lay, and ten Choriſters, four Sextons, beſide ſixteen Chaplains (the moſt ſufficient for their Learning throughout all *England*) two Croſs-bearers, and as many Pillar-bearers. But nothing doth manifeſt his wealth and greatneſs ſo much as do his ſtately and incomparable Buildings. We have already ſpoken of his Colledges. *Whitehal* (then called *York-houſe*, as belonging to the Archbiſhop) the place where our Kings do moſt reſide, was almoſt wholy built by him. *Hampton-Court*, the neateſt pile of all the King's houſes, he raiſed entirely from the ground, and having furniſhed it with moſt rich houſholdſtuff, gave it to the King. It was a gift fitter for a King to take, than for a ſubject to give. But in the opinion of the vulgar the Monument which he intended for the King far ſurpaſſed all theſe: It was of ſolid Braſs, but unfiniſhed, and is to be ſeen in *Henry* the Eighth his Chappel in the Church of *Windſor*. That three of his Children reigning after him, none of them undertook by perfecting it to cover the (as it were) unburied bones of their Father, what may we think, but that the exceſſive charge of it deterred them? But upon a farther inquiry we may more juſtly aſcribe it to the eſpecial judgment of the Divine Providence, who had decreed, that he who had ſo horribly ſpoiled the Church, ſhould alone be debarred the honour afforded to each of his Predeceſſors in the Church. And thus much concerning *Wolſey*, who died the thirtieth of *November*, 1530.

He dieth.

And is buried.

His greatneſs.

His buildings.

In

1529.

The Peace of Cambray.

In the mean time in *June*, *Anno* 1529, after long debating the matter to and fro, by the mediation of *Louyſe* the *French* King's Mother, and *Margaret* Aunt to the Emperour, theſe two Princes are drawn to an accord, and a Peace is concluded between them at *Cambray*, thence commonly called *The Peace of* Cambray, but by us, *The Peace of Women.* The chief Conditions whereof, and that any way concerned us were;

That the French *King ſhould give to the Emperour for the freedom of his Children* (who had been three years Hoſtages in *Spain* for their Father) *two millions of Crowns, whereof he ſhould pay four hundred thouſand* (*due from the Emperour by the League made* Anno 1522) *to* Henry *and his Siſter* Mary *Dowager of* France. *Beſide which huge ſumm he ſhould alſo acquit the Emperour of five hundred thouſand, which he did owe to our King for the indemnity of the Marriage between the Emperour and the Lady* Mary *the King's Daughter,* whom (having been long ſince contracted) he left, to marry with the Daughter of *Portugal: And that he ſhould diſengage and reſtore to the Emperour the Flower-de-Lys of gold enriched with precious Stones, and a piece of our Saviour's Croſs, which* Philip, *truly called,* The Good *Duke of* Burgoigne *the Emperour's Father being driven into* England *by contrary winds, had engaged to* Henry *the Seventh for fifty thouſand Crowns.*

So that the ſumm to be paid to *Henry* amounted to nine hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns, beſides ſixteen hundred thouſand more to be paid to the Emperour at the very inſtant of the delivery of the *French* King's Children. The total ſumm was two millions five hundred fifty thouſand Crowns, which of our money make ſeven hundred ſixty five thouſand Pounds.

Francis not knowing which way ſuddenly to raiſe ſo huge a maſs, by his Ambaſſadors intreated our King to be pleaſed to ſtay ſome time for his moneys. But *Henry* was much moved, that he had not been made acquainted with this Treaty: notwithſtanding his ſecret deſigns made him temper his choler, nay, and with incredible liberality to grant more than was demanded. For he abſolutely forgave him the five hundred thouſand Crowns due for the not marrying his Daughter, he gave the Flower-de-Lys to his God-ſon *Henry* Duke of *Orleans*, and left the other four hundred thouſand to be paid by equal portions in five years. The Pope had lately by his Legates deluded *Henry*, who was thereupon much diſcontented not knowing what courſe to run. And this is thought to be the cauſe of his ſo extraordinary liberality toward the *French.*

The firſt occaſion of Cranmer's *riſing.*

The King being then in progreſs, and hunting at *Waltham*, it happened that *Stephen Gardiner* Principal Secretary of Eſtate (after Biſhop of *Winton*) and *Fox* the King's Almoner (after Biſhop of *Hereford*) were billeted in the houſe of a Gentleman named *Creſſey*, who had ſent his two Sons to be brought up at *Cambridge*, under

under the tutelage of *Thomas Cranmer* Doctor in Divinity, a man both very learned and virtuous. The Plague then ſpreading it ſelf in *Cambridge*, *Cranmer* with his two Pupils betook himſelf to Mr. *Creſſey* their Father his houſe: Where *Gardiner* and *Fox* among other table-talk diſcourſing of the King's Suit concerning his Divorce, which had ſo many years depended in the Court of *Rome* undecided, *Cranmer* ſaid, that he wondred the King required not the opinions of the moſt famous learned men that were any where to be found (of whom the world had many far more learned than the Pope) and and followed not their judgments. What *Cranmer* had as it were let fall by chance they report to the King, who ſuddenly apprehending it, ſaid, that this fellow, whoſoever he was, had hit the nail on the head, and withal demanding his name, cauſed *Cranmer* to be ſent for, whom he commended for his (but too late) advice, which courſe if he had taken but five years before, he ſhould now have had an hundred thouſand Pounds in his Purſe, which he had unprofitably in this Suit caſt away on the Court of *Rome:* he commands *Cranmer* to write a Tract concerning this Queſtion, wherein having drawn together what Reaſons he could for the confirmation of his advice, he ſhould conclude with his own opinion. *Cranmer* did it very readily, and is thereupon with Sir *Thomas Bolen* (lately created Earl of *Wiltſhire*) *Carne*, *Stokeſley*, and *Benet*, Doctors of Law, with others ſent on an Embaſſie to *Rome: Cranmer's* Book is to be preſented to his Holineſs, and they are commanded to challenge the Court of *Rome* to a Diſputation, wherein the Contents of that Book ſhould be maintained; the Argument whereof was, *That by the authority of holy Scripture, ancient Fathers, and Councils, it was utterly unlawful for any man to marry his Brother's Widow, and that no ſuch marriage could be licenſed or authorized, by the Pope's Diſpenſation.* This being done, the King's intent was, they ſhould procure the opinions of all the Univerſities throughout *Europe*, by whom if he found his former Marriage condemned, then without farther expecting the approbation of the See of *Rome*, he was reſolved to run the hazard of a ſecond. To this the amity of the *French* ſeeming very conducible, the King had by his former liberality ſought to oblige him. The Ambaſſadors came to *Rome*, had audience, were promiſed a publick Diſputation, whereof they were held ſo long in expectation, that perceiving their ſtay there to be to little purpoſe, they all returned into *England*, except *Cranmer*, who with the ſame inſtructions that he had formerly been ſent to the Pope, was to go to the Emperour, whoſe Court was then in *Germany*. There this good and learned man, hitherto no friend to *Luther*, while he defends his own Book and the King's Divorce, againſt the moſt learned either of Proteſtants or Papiſts, is thought to have been ſeaſoned with the leaven of that Doctrine, for which after he had been

1529.

1529. twenty years Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he was moſt cruelly burned.

While *Cranmer* thus laboured abroad, the King at home deals with *Langey* the *French* Ambaſſador, by whoſe means (with the forcible Rhetorick (ſaith one) of ſome *Engliſh* Angels) he obtained of the Univerſities of *Paris*, with the reſt throughout *France*, *Pavia*, *Padua*, *Bononia*, and others, this Concluſion, *That the Pope (who hath no power over the Poſitive Law of God) could not by his Diſpenſation ratifie a Marriage contracted between a Brother and a Brother's Widow, it being forbidden by the expreſs words of Scripture.*

Creation of Earls. The eighth of *December* the King graced three noble and worthy men with new Titles of Honour. *Thomas Bolen* Viſcount *Rochfort*, the King's future Father-in-Law, was created Earl of *Wiltſhire*, *Robert Ratcliff* Viſcount *Fitz-Walter*, of the noble Family of the *Fitz-Walters*, Earl of *Suſſex*; in which honour his Son *Thomas*, his Nephews, *Thomas* firſt, then *Henry* Brother to *Thomas*, and now *Robert* the Son of *Henry* have ſucceeded him: And *George* Lord *Haſtings* was made Earl of *Huntingdon*, who left it to his Son *Francis* Father of *Henry*, who deceaſed without iſſue, and *George* Grandfather to *Henry* the now Earl by *Francis*, who died before his Father.

ANNO DOM. 1530. *REG.* 22.

1530. *William Tyndal* having tranſlated the New Teſtament into *Engliſh*, and procured it to be printed at *Antwerp*, had ſecretly diſperſed many copies thereof thoughout *England*. Whereat the Biſhops and Clergy (eſpecially thoſe that were moſt addicted to the Doctrine of *Rome*) ſtormed exceedingly, ſaying that this Tranſlation was full of errours, and that in the Prefaces and elſewhere it contained many things contrary to the Truth. The King being angry with the Pope, had long ſince determined to free himſelf from his uſurped power. And therefore admoniſhed the murmuring Clergy to correct this Book, not to ſuppreſs it: for it was a moſt profitable work, and very neceſſary for the diſcovery of the deceits of the Court of *Rome*, the tyranny whereof was become intolerable to all the Princes of Chriſtendom. Whereupon he giveth order to the Biſhops and ſome other learned men to ſet forth a new Tranſlation, which his Subjects might read with ſafety and profit.

The Bible tranſlated into Engliſh.

An Embaſſy to the Pope. The hope of prevailing with the Pope by the *French* King's means had drawn *Henry* to ſend on a ſecond Embaſſage to the Pope, the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Doctor *Stokeſley* Elect of *London*, and *Edward Lee*, *Wolſey* his Succeſſor in *York*. They found the Pope at *Bononia* with the Emperour, but had no other anſwer to their demands

demands, than, that his Holineſs when he came to *Rome*, would endeavour to do the King juſtice. Till then he could do nothing. 1530.

Fair means not prevailing, the King runs another courſe. By publick Proclamation throughout the Kingdom he forbids all commerce between his Subjects and the Biſhop of *Rome*; commanding that no man ſhould receive any thing from, or ſend any thing (eſpecially money) unto him, either by exchange, or any other means, calling him Tyrant, the Harpy of the World, the common Incendiary, and deeming him utterly unworthy of that glorious title which he had vainglorioufly uſurped, *Chriſt's Vicar*. This in *September*. *All commerce with the See of* Rome *forbidden.*

But the wealth of the Clergy being very great, and conſidering how they had in the Reigns of his Predeceſſors ſtrongly ſided with the Pope, the King was ſomewhat jealous of them. To curb them he condemns the whole Clergy throughout the Kingdom in a *Præmunire*, for that without licence from his Majeſty they had been obedient to the authority of the Pope, in acknowledging *Wolſey* for his Legate. The Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, being aſſembled in Convocation, buy their pardon at a hundred thouſand Pounds, and in this Synod he is (with much ado) by the Clergy of both Provinces declared next under Chriſt *Supreme Head of the Church of* England, and all forein power or authority whatſoever diſclaimed. The Province of *York* is moreover fined at eighteen thouſand eight hundred and forty Pounds. So this one fault (if it may be ſo accompted, it being certain that *Wolſey* was licenced to exerciſe his authority Legantine) coſt the Clergy a hundred and eighteen thouſand, eight hundred and forty Pounds. *The Clergy fined.* *The King declared ſupreme Head of the Church.*

ANNO DOM. 1531. *REG.* 23.

THe only publick memorable occurrents of this year were, that the Laity, for the moſt part as deep in a *Præmunire*, as the Clergy, were by Act of Parliament pardoned. In which aſſembly Sir *Thomas More* Lord Chancellour, and other remarkable ſpeakers related at large the Concluſions of the Univerſities concerning the unlawfulneſs of the King's marriage. 1531.

And yet perhaps the notorious villany of *Richard Roſe* Cook to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, might crave a place in this Hiſtory, who with poyſoned broth killed ſixteen of the Biſhop's ſervants. The Biſhop himſelf (who was eſpecially aimed at) that day contrary to his accuſtomed diet forbearing broth, eſcaped. The poiſoner, according to a Law lately enacted, was thrown into a cauldron of boyling water. But the offence deſerved tortures of a moſt exquiſite ſtrain.

ANNO DOM. 1532. REG. 24.

1532.

The death of William Warham *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. Cranmer *(though much againſt his will) ſucceedeth him.*

ON the three and twentieth of *Auguſt* died *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to whom *Thomas Cranmer* at that time in *Germany* about the King's affairs, was appointed Succeſſor. He was not ſo ambitious as to aſpire to ſuch a dignity; and ſome reaſons made him unwilling to accept it being offered: He knew before he could be conſecrated he muſt ſwear obedience to the Pope, which with a ſafe conſcience he could not. He feared what would be the iſſue of this abrupt ſeparation from the See of *Rome*. He knew the King's diſpoſition to be violent, ſuch ſudden changes to be full of danger, and the Court (although he had not yet purchaſed the acquaintance of it) to be a meer School of fraud and diſſembling. The King's pleaſure muſt neceſſarily be obeyed, and if he ſlipped never ſo little, envy, the miſchievous attendant of great felicity, would help him forward to a break-neck. *Cranmer* alſo having long ſince loſt his Wife whom he had married in his youth, had taken a liking to a certain maid, Niece to *Oſiander's* Wife, whom he intended to make his ſecond Wife: yet he knew that the Canon Law permitted not Prieſts to marry, and made them uncapable of holy Orders, who had been twice married. Theſe conſiderations made him linger in *Germany* ſix whole months after the diſpatch of his buſineſs, hoping that his abſence might afford means to ſome other to work a way to the Archbiſhoprick. But the times were ſuch, that they to whom deſert might give greateſt hopes of attaining it, did abhor this ſtill tottering and ſlippery dignity: and even they who were already advanced to the like, endeavoured to betake themſelves to the ſafety of meaner fortune; As did Sir *Thomas More* the Lord Chancellour, who by his continual earneſt petitions obtained leave of the King on the fifteenth of *May* to reſign his place; and Sir *Thomas Awdley* on the fourth of *June* was in his ſtead made Lord Keeper. *Cranmer* having privately married his Wife at *Norimberg*, at length returned into *England*, where the King's importunity prevailing beyond all ſcrupulous difficulties, *Cranmer* is (though much againſt his will) made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Pope alſo by his Bull confirming the Election. He refuſing the Archbiſhoprick, becauſe he muſt take an Oath to the Pope, delivered the Bull to the King, proteſting that he would never accept of any Biſhoprick in *England*, but from the King, who was Supreme Head of the Church of *England*; and that he would not take any Oath that ſhould any way derogate from the King's Authority. At length the ſubtil heads of the Lawyers found out a quirk whereby to ſalve all: He muſt firſt by a previous Proteſtation except againſt this Oath (which was to be taken *pro formâ*) that it ſhould not hereafter be any

Sir Thomas More *reſigns the place of Lord Chancellour.*

any way prejudicial to him. Thus aſcended *Cranmer* to the Archiepiſcopal See, where he ſate near about twenty years, until Queen *Mary* the Daughter of repudiated *Catharine* not only thruſt this moſt innocent, grave, learned man out of his Biſhoprick, but with a barbarous cruelty condemned him to the fire, as hereafter in its place we ſhall declare. 1532.

How! innocent

For the Treatiſe of a more ſtrict League between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, an interview is appointed between them. To this end on the eleventh *October* the King with a mighty train paſſed to *Calais*. The tenth day, after going to *Boloigne*, he was met half way by the *French* King and his Sons, and conducted to *Boloigne*, where the two Kings divided the Abbey between them. *Henry* ſtaid there four days, and then brought *Francis* (in whoſe company were the King of *Navarre*, ſome Dukes, and Cardinals, a great number of Noblemen, and of others at leaſt twelve hundred) to *Calais*. At St. *Joquebert* the Duke of *Richmond* (who was not at *Boloigne* with the King his Father) received them. After much ſolemn entertainment, and the interchangeable favours from each King to the Princes of each others company, from *Henry* to the King of *Navarre* (or as the *French* write, to *Montmorency*) and *Chabot* the Admiral by the Order of the *Garter*; From *Francis* to the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* by that of St. *Michael*, theſe great Monarchs parted.

An interview between the Kings of England *and* France.

Jealouſie of the Emperour's ſtill increaſing power had now united theſe Princes, and their natural diſpoſitions wonderful agreeable had made them always prone to a mutual love, which by this interview took ſuch deep root, that even in their own opinions they reſted aſſured of each other. And indeed had they been private perſons, their friendſhip in all likelihood had continued inviolable. But Princes are not ſo much to be ſwayed by their own affections, as the conſideration of the publick Utility. The effect of this interview was an agreement to repreſs the *Turk* about that time waſting *Hungary*, to which end they ſhould aſſemble together by their joint forces an Army of fourſcore thouſand men, whereof there ſhould be ten thouſand horſe, with Artillery requiſite for the ſaid Camp: A ſpecious pretext: For they both knew, that the *Turk* had already retreated. But in private they treated of other matters. They had both many cauſes of diſcontent. *Francis* not without cauſe was diſpleaſed with the Pope, and *Henry* thinking it beſt to ſtrike while the Iron was hot, endeavoured an utter alienation between them. *Henry* complains firſt of the wrong the Court of *Rome* did him touching the matter of his Divorce, in the ſuit whereof full ſix years were now ſpent: and yet at length after all their deceits and mockeries, they ſeek to force him, either to go in perſon to *Rome*, or in a matter of ſo great importance to ſend Deputies, who ſhould in the King's behalf follow the Suit. An inſolent proceeding, and injury

1532. injury without example, which did concern the *French* and all other Princes of Chriſtendom. For in like caſes hapning among Sovereign Princes, eſpecially touching the conſcience ſo near, it was the uſual cuſtom of other Popes to ſend Judges to the place, it being reaſonable that the Perſons ſhould ſpeak perſonally, and not by their Attorneys; and very unreaſonable, that a Sovereign Prince leaving the rule and government of his Eſtates ſhould go and plead his cauſe at *Rome*. Moreover he did complain of the intolerable exactions of the Church of *Rome* over the Clergy and people of *England*; whereby the yoak, before too heavy, was now become inſupportable: neither did he doubt, but the ſame courſes were taken in *France*. *Germany* had begun the way of freedom to the reſt of Chriſtendom: why ſhould not other Princes follow their example? To conclude, he did inſtantly require, that they two ſhould ſend their Ambaſſadors jointly together to the Pope to ſummon him to appear at the next general Council, there to anſwer his extortions, and by the authority and judgement of the Council to force him to a reformation; affirming, that there was no Nation in Chriſtendom, which did not deſire, that the inſolencies of the *Romaniſts* ſhould be repreſſed. To this the *French* anſwered, that he acknowledged theſe things to be true, but it was not in his power to yield to the King's requeſt, yet for the brotherly love which he did bear unto him, and the charitable regard of his own Countrey, he profeſſed himſelf ready to undergo all difficulties. He wanted not ſufficient injuries whereof to complain, conſidering that he having ſo well deſerved of the Apoſtolick See, but more eſpecially of this Pope, yet he certainly found, that *Clement*, all this notwithſtanding, was not well affected towards him. *Clement* had very lately ſuffered his reputation to be violated in his preſence, and by the Biſhop of *Verulo* had ſecretly endeavoured to alienate the *Suiſſes* his Allies from him. *France* groaned under the burthen of the new and undutiful exactions of the Pope's Officers, by means whereof all the treaſure was carried out of the Kingdom, to the prejudice of his Subjects (the Clergy eſpecially) who grew poor, the Churches were unrepaired, and the poor neither cloathed nor fed: and if he himſelf levied any great ſumm of money, the Tributes are longer coming in than uſually they were wont. But he thought it beſt, before they proceeded to that harſh courſe, to uſe ſome milder means, whereto there was a fair occaſion offered, the Pope having by the Cardinal of *Grandmont* made him a promiſe of an interview at *Nice* or *Avignon*; where if he could not obtain reaſon of him in the behalf of both; he would endeavour to prevail by force where he could not by juſt intreaties: In the mean time he deſired him to attend the iſſue of their parley.

But *Francis* concealed the true cauſe of this intended interview, for fear leſt our *Henry* not approving it, ſhould ſeek to diſſwade him

him from it. The *French* was implacable towards the Emperour, againſt whom to ſtrengthen himſelf, he means to win the Pope by the marriage of his younger Son *Henry* Duke of *Orleans* (who after reigned) with *Catharine de Medices* Ducheſs of *Urbin*, the Pope's Niece. The Pope could not at firſt believe this potent Prince intended him ſo much honour: but perceiving the *French* to be real, he moſt eagerly farthered it, appointing time and place for the conſummation of it, which was after done at *Marſeilles* by *Clement* himſelf in the preſence of the *French* King. 1532.

Catharina de Medices *married to the Duke of* Orleans.

ANNO DOM. 1533. *REG.* 25.

THE King's love brooked no delays. Wherefore on the five and twentieth of *January*, privately and in the preſence of very few, he marrieth the Lady *Ann Bolen*. 1533.

The King marrieth Ann Bolen.

Shortly after by Act of Parliament the Marriage of the King and the Lady *Catharine* was declared void and inceſtuous, and a Law enacted, wherein all Appeals to *Rome* were forbidden, and that none ſhould ſtile *Catharine* other than Princeſs of *Wales*, and Widow or Dowager of Prince *Arthur*. By virtue and authority of the ſame Law, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* accompanied with ſome other Biſhops, coming to *Dunſtable* ſix miles from *Ampthill*, where *Catharine* then reſided, cauſed her to be cited before him, next under the King chief Judge in all Eccleſiaſtical cauſes within the Province of *Canterbury*, to ſhew what reaſons could be alledged why the Marriage not lawfully contracted between the King and her ſhould not be diſannulled, and pronounced impious, inceſtuous, and conſequently void. To theſe things by one of her Servants ſhe anſwered; that it beſeemed not the Archbiſhop to thruſt his ſickle into another's harveſt: this Cauſe did yet depend undecided before the Pope, Chriſt's Vicar on earth, whoſe Decree ſhe would obey, and other Judge would ſhe acknowledge none. Being called fifteen days together and not appearing, ſhe is pronounced *Contumax*, and for her contumacy ſeparated from the King's bed and company. Whereupon the Lady *Ann* proclaimed Queen throughout the Kingdom, on Eaſter-eve ſhewed her ſelf publickly as Queen; and was at Whitſontide crowned with as great pomp and ſolemnity as ever was Queen. The particulars I will let paſs, excepting that prophetical Diſtich upon one of the Triumphant Arches purpoſely erected in *London* where ſhe was to paſs:

Regina Anna, *paris Regis de ſanguine Natam,*
Et paries populis aurea ſecla tuis.

In

1533.

In *Engliſh*,

Ann, *thou a Daughter beareſt to our King,*
And to thy people golden days ſhalt bring.

Wafers alſo with the ſame impreſſion were thrown about, ſaith *Stow*. But I rather believe, that this Diſtich was made after the Queens delivery. Whenſoever it were, he that truly conſiders the felicity of the four and forty years Reign of this Queens Daughter, will think this Oracle could not proceed from any but a *Delphian Apollo*. For the Queen at the time of her Coronation was great with child, (whereof the ſeventh of *September* ſhe was delivered at *Greenwich*) which was that ever famous Queen *Elizabeth*, who after the death of her Brother and Siſter ſo glorioufly ruled this Kingdom.

The birth of Queen Elizabeth.

The Pope was certified of all theſe paſſages; that his authority in *England* was abrogated, that the late Queen *Catharine* was put away, that *Ann Bolen* as Queen was taken to the King's bed, that the King ſtiled himſelf *Supreme Head of the Church of* England, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* executed all thoſe Offices which formerly the Pope only did, and that not as the Pope's Legate, but as Primate of *England*, who under the King claimed chief authority in Eccleſiaſtical affairs throughout his whole Province. Wherewith being netled, he ſeemed to breath nothing but threats and revenge. But knowing himſelf to have been the motive of it, and doubtful of the event, he was eaſily perſwaded by the *French* King, as yet not to proceed by Excommunication againſt *Henry*, until he had made trial of ſome milder courſe. Whereupon *Francis* by *Bellay* Biſhop of *Paris* intreats *Henry* not to withdraw himſelf wholly from the obedience of *Rome*, for as much as it was a matter of great danger: He would therefore adviſe him once more by Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to ſignifie that he was not utterly averſe from a reconciliation: which if he did, he made no doubt but all things would ſucceed to his mind. *Henry* was certain of enjoying his Love, and let the Pope decree what he liſt, was reſolved to keep her. He had been formerly abuſed by the Court of *Rome*, and was loath to make farther trial of their dilatory proceedings. Yet had *Bellay* prevailed ſo far with him, that he would be content once more to ſubmit himſelf to the Church of *Rome*, if he could be aſſured of the Pope's intention to do him equity. The Biſhop conceiving ſome hopes of a peace (although it were in the Winter time) goes himſelf to *Rome*, gives the Pope an account of his actions, and certifies him that the matter was not yet deſperate. Whereupon a day is appointed, by which a Poſt returning from the King was to give notice of an intended Embaſſy. But the Conſiſtory gave ſo ſhort a time to have an anſwer, that the Poſt came ſhort two days at his return.

The

1533.

The term expired, they proceed haſtily to the confirmation of their Cenſures, notwithſtanding the Biſhop's inſtance to obtain ſix days more, for as much as contrary winds or ſome other chance might hinder the Meſſenger; and ſix days would be no great matter, conſideringthe King had wavered ſix whole years before he fell: The more moderate thought the Biſhop demanded but reaſon; but the prepoſterous haſte of the greater ſort prevailed. Two days were ſcarce paſt after the prefixed time, but the Poſt arriving with ample authority and inſtructions from *England*, did greatly amaze thoſe haſty Cardinals, who afterwards would fain, but could not find any means to mend what they had ſo raſhly marred. For the matter (to pleaſe the Emperour) was ſo hudled up, as that which could not ritely be finiſhed in three Conſiſtories, was done in one. So the King and the whole Realm was interdicted, the Bull whereof (the Meſſengers not daring to come nearer) was brought to *Dunkirk*.

The report hereof coming to the King, he lays all the blame on the Lady *Catharine*. Whereupon the Duke of *Suffolk* was ſent to leſſen her Houſhold: They who might be any way ſuſpected to have been employed by her in this buſineſs, are turned away, the reſt are commanded to take their Oaths to ſerve her as Princeſs of *Wales*, not as Queen of *England*. They that refuſe are caſhiered, and they that are content to ſwear, are by her caſt off; ſo that for a time ſhe had few or no Attendants.

In the mean time, on the three and twentieth of *June* died *Mary* Queen of *France*, the King's Siſter, and was buried in the Abbey of St. *Edmundsbury*.

Mary *Queen of* France *dieth.*

ANNO DOM. 1534. *REG.* 26.

1534.

ABout this time was diſcovered the grand Impoſture of *Elizabeth Barton*, which brought her to a deſerved end. She had formerly been ſick of a ſtrange diſeaſe, which not only afflicted her inwardly, but as often as her fitt took her, ſo wonderfully diſtorted her mouth and other parts of her body, that moſt were of opinion, it could not proceed from any natural cauſe. But Cuſtom growing to a ſecond Nature, the continuance of the diſeaſe had taught her to diſtort her body after her recovery, in the ſame manner as when ſhe was ſick. Hoping to make a profit of this her counterfeit Convulſion, ſhe imparted the ſecret to the Curate of the Pariſh: by whoſe device after long deliberation between them, it was agreed, that ſhe ſhould often feign her ſelf to be in an Ecſtaſie: and whereas ſhe was wont when the fitt ſeiſed her, to lie ſtill without motion, as if ſhe had been dead, ſhe ſhould now ſometimes utter ſome godly ſentences, inveigh againſt the wickedneſs of the times, but eſpecially againſt Hereticks

The Impoſture of Elizabeth Barton *diſcovered.*

1534. ticks and broachers of new Opinions; and ſhould relate ſtrange Viſions revealed by God to her in the time of her Ecſtaſie. By theſe jugling tricks, not only among the Vulgar (who termed her the *Holy Maid of* Kent) but among the wiſer ſort, ſuch as were Archbiſhop *Warham*, Biſhop *Fiſher*, and others, her ſanctity was held in admiration. The Impoſture taking ſo generally, her boldneſs increaſed. She prefixeth a day whereon ſhe ſhall be reſtored to perfect health, and the means of her recovery muſt be procured forſooth by a Pilgrimage to ſome certain Image of our Lady. The day came, and ſhe being brought to the place, by the like cozenage deceived a great number of people, whom the expectation of the Miracle had drawn thither: and at laſt, as if ſhe had juſt then ſhaken off her diſeaſe, ſhe appears whole and ſtraight unto them all; ſaying, That by eſpecial command from God ſhe muſt become a Nun, and that one Dr. *Bocking* a Monk of *Canterbury* there preſent, was ordained to be her Confeſſor, which office he willingly undertook; under pretext whereof this Nun living at *Canterbury*, *Bocking* often reſorted to her, not without ſuſpition of diſhoneſty.

The intended Divorce from *Catharine*, and Marriage with *Ann Bolen*, had much appalled moſt part of the Clergy: for then a neceſſity was impoſed on the King, of a divorce from the Papal See, in which the Church and all Eccleſiaſtical perſons were likely to ſuffer. The apprehenſion whereof wrought ſo with *Bocking*, that making others conſcious of the intent, he perſwaded *Elizabeth Barton* by denuntiation of God's revealed judgments to deterr the King from his purpoſed change. She according as ſhe was inſtructed, proclaims it abroad, That the King adventuring to marry another, *Catharine* ſurviving, ſhould, if in the mean time he died not ſome infamous death, within one month after be deprived of his Kingdom. The King hears of it, and cauſeth the Impoſtrix to be apprehended, who upon examination diſcovered the reſt of the Conſpirators, who were all committed to priſon until the next Parliament ſhould determine of them. *Elizabeth Barton*, *Bocking*, *Maſters*, (the afore mentioned Curate of the Pariſh) *Deering*, and *Risby*, Monks, with *Gold* a Prieſt, are by the Parliament adjudged to die. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Adeſon* his Chaplain, one *Abel* a Prieſt, *Laurence* the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* his Regiſter, and *Thomas Gold* Gentleman, for having heard many things, whereby they might gueſs at the intents of the Conſpirators, and not acquainting the Magiſtrate with them, are as acceſſory condemned in a *Præmunire*, (confiſcation of their goods, and perpetual impriſonment.) *Elizabeth Barton* and her Companions, having each of them after a Sermon at *Pauls* Croſs, publickly confeſſed the Impoſture, are on the twentieth of *April* hanged, and their Heads ſet over the Gates of the City.

By

1534.

By the ſame Parliament, the authority of the Convocation to make Canonical Conſtitutions, unleſs the King give his Royal aſſent, is abrogated.

No Canons to be conſtituted without the King's aſſent.

It is alſo enacted, That the Collocation of all Biſhopricks, the Sees being vacant, ſhould henceforth be at the King's diſpoſe, and that no man ſhould be choſen by the Chapter, or conſecrated by the Archbiſhop, but he on whom the King by his *Congé D'eſlire* or other his Letters had conferred that Dignity.

The King to collate Biſhopricks.

And whereas many complained, that now all commerce with *Rome* was forbidden, all means were taken away of mitigating the rigour of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of Diſpenſation; Papal authority is granted to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the King reſerving to himſelf the power of diſpenſing in cauſes of greater moment. And that all Appeals formerly wont to be made from the Archbiſhop to the Pope, ſhould now be from the Archbiſhop to the King, who by Delegates ſhould determine all ſuch Suits and Controverſies.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury *hath Papal authority under the King.*

Furthermore, the King's Marriage with the Lady *Catharine* is again pronounced inceſtuous, the Succeſſion to the Crown eſtabliſhed on the King's Iſſue begotten on Queen *Ann*. And all above the age of ſixteen years throughout the Kingdom, are to be bound by Oath, to the obſervance of this Law: Whoſoever refuſed to take this Oath, ſhould ſuffer loſs of all their goods, and perpetual impriſonment.

Throughout all the Realm there were found but two, who durſt refractorily oppoſe this Law, *viz. Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More* the late Lord Chancellor; men who were indeed very learned, but moſt obſtinate ſticklers in the behalf of the Church of *Rome*: who being not to be drawn by any perſwaſions, to be conformable to the Law, were committed to priſon, from whence after a years durance they were not freed but by the loſs of their lives.

Fiſher *and* More *impriſoned.*

But the King fearing that it might be thought, That he took theſe courſes rather out of a contempt of Religion, than in regard of the tyranny of the Court of *Rome*; to free himſelf from all ſuſpition either of favouring *Luther*, or any authors of new Opinions, began to perſecute that ſort of men whom the Vulgar called Hereticks, and condemned to the cruelty of that mercileſs Element Fire, not only certain *Dutch* Anabaptiſts, but many Profeſſors of the Truth; and amongſt others, that learned and godly young man *John Frith*, who with one *Hewet* and others, on the two and twentieth of *July* conſtantly endured the torments of their martyrdom.

Perſecution.

The five and twentieth of *September* died *Clement* the Seventh, Pope; in whoſe place ſucceeded *Alexander Farneſe* by the name of *Paulus* the Third, who to begin his time with ſome memorable Act, having called a Conſiſtory, pronounced *Henry* to be fallen

Pope Clement *dieth.*

1534. from the Title and Dignity of a King, and to be depoſed, reiterating withal the thunder of Excommunication, with which bugbear his predeceſſor *Clement* had ſought to affright him. But this peradventure happened in the enſuing year, after the death of *Fiſher* and *More*.

A Parliament is again called in *November*, wherein (according to the Decree of the late Synod) the King was declared *Supreme Head of the Church of* England, and the puniſhment of all crimes which formerly pertained to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, is made proper to him. So the Kingdom is vindicated from the uſurpation of the Pope, who before ſhared in it, and the King now firſt began to reign entirely.

Firſt-fruits granted to the King.

Alſo all Annats or Firſt-fruits formerly paid to the Pope, are granted to the King.

Wales *united to* England.

And *Wales*, the ſeat of the remainder of the true antient *Britans*, hitherto differing from us (compounded of *Normans* and *Saxons*) as well in the form of their Government, as in Language, is by the authority of this Parliament (to the great good of both, but eſpecially that Nation) united and incorporated to *England*. *Edward* the Firſt was the firſt who ſubdued this Countrey, yet could he not prevail over their minds, whom the deſire of recovering their loſt liberty, animated to many Rebellions. By reaſon whereof, and our ſuſpitions, being for two hundred years oppreſſed either with the miſeries of Servitude or War, they never taſted the ſweet fruits of a true and ſolid Peace. But *Henry* the Seventh by blood (in regard of his Father) and birth a *Welchman*, coming to the Crown, (as if they had recovered their liberty, whereto they ſo long aſpired) they obeyed him as their lawful Prince. So the *Engliſh* being freed of their former jealouſies permitted them to partake of their Priviledges, ſince common to both Nations, the good whereof equally redounded to both. I could wiſh the like Union with *Scotland*: That as we all live in one Iſland, profeſſing one Faith, and ſpeaking for the moſt part one Language, under the government of one and the ſame Prince; ſo we may become one Nation, all equally acknowledging our ſelves *Britans*, and ſo recover our true Countrey *Britain*, loſt as it were ſo many hundreds of years, by our diviſions of it into *England*, *Scotland*, and *Wales*.

ANNO DOM. 1535. *REG.* 27.

1535. THe Coronation of the new Queen, and other paſſages of entertainment, had exhauſted the Treaſury. The Pope and the Emperour were both enemies to *Henry*, watchfully attending all opportunities to do him miſchief. Neither in regard that ſo many ſided with the Pope, were all things ſafe at home.

The

1535.

The King was therefore forced to a courſe ſeemingly raſh, and full of dangerous conſequences, but very neceſſary for the time. He reſolves to demoliſh all the Monaſteries throughout *England*. He is content the Nobility ſhould ſhare with him in the ſpoil, ſo enriching and ſtrengthening himſelf by their neceſſary revolt from the Popiſh faction. To this end, they that were thought more eſpecially in maintaining the Pope's authority to withſtand the King's proceedings, were condemned of high Treaſon; and they that refuſed to acknowledge the King under Chriſt, *Supreme Head of the Church of* England, are hanged. For this cauſe on the third of *May* were executed *John Houghton* Prior of the *Charterhouſe* in *London*, *Auguſtine Webſter* Prior of *Bevaley*, and *Thomas Lawrence* Prior of *Exham*, and with them *Richard Reignalds* a Monk and Doctor of Divinity, and *John Hales* Vicar of *Thiſtlehurſt*.

The King begins to ſubvert Religious Houſes.

Certain Priors and Monks executed.

On the eighteenth of *June*, *Exmew*, *Middlemore*, and *Nudigate*, all *Charterhouſe*-Monks, ſuffered for the ſame cauſe. And four days after, *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, a man much reverenced by the People for his holy life and great learning, was publickly beheaded, and his Head ſet over *London* Bridge. Our Hiſtories hardly afford a preſident of the execution of ſuch a man. But the Pope was the occaſion of his death, who to eaſe the burthen of his now a years impriſonment, by the addition of a new Title, had on the one and twentieth of *May* created him Cardinal: The news whereof haſtened him to a Scaffold.

The Biſhop of Rocheſter *beheaded.*

Made Cardinal unſeaſonably.

The ſixth of *July*, Sir *Thomas More* for the ſame ſtiffneſs in opinion with Biſhop *Fiſher*, ſuffered the like death. This was that *More* ſo famous for his *Eutopia*, and many other Works both in *Engliſh* and *Latin*. As for his converſation, the moſt cenſorious fault him in nothing, but his too too jeſting (I will not ſay ſcoffing) wit, to which he gave more liberty, than did beſeem the gravity of his perſon, not tempering himſelf in the midſt of his calamity, no not at the very inſtant of death. After his condemnation he denied to give any thing to the Barber that trimmed him, affirming, *That head about which he had beſtowed his pains, was the Kings: if he could prove it to be his that did bear it, he would well reward him.* To his Keeper demanding his *upper garment* as his fee, he gave his *Hat*. Going up the Scaffold, he deſired him that went before him, *To lend him his hand to help him up, as for coming down he took no care.* Laying his head upon the block, he put aſide his beard (which was then very long) ſaying, *The Executioner was to cut off his head, not his beard.*

Sir Thomas More *beheaded.*

The executions of ſo many men cauſed the Queen to be much maligned, as if they had been done by her procurement, at leaſt the Papiſts would have it thought ſo, knowing that it ſtood her upon, and that indeed ſhe endeavoured, that the authority of the Pope of *Rome* ſhould not again take footing in *England*. They deſired

1535. desired nothing more than the downfal of this virtuous Lady, which ſhortly after happening, they triumphed in the overthrow of Innocence.

Religious Houſes viſited. In the mean time they who undertook the ſubverſion of the Monaſteries, invented an Engin to batter them more forcibly, than the former courſe of torture and puniſhment. They ſend abroad ſubtil-headed fellows, who warranted by the King's authority, ſhould throughout *England* ſearch into the lives and manners of Religious perſons. It would amaze one to conſider what villanies were diſcovered among them by the means of *Cromwell* and others. Few were found ſo guiltleſs, as to dare withſtand their proceedings; and the licentiouſneſs of the reſt divulged, made them all ſo odious to the people, that never any exploit ſo full of hazard and danger was more eaſily atchieved, than was the ſubverſion of our *Engliſh* Monaſteries.

ANNO DOM. 1536. *REG.* 28.

1536. THis year began with the end of the late Queen *Catharine*, whom extremity of grief caſt into a diſeaſe, whereof on the eighth of *January* ſhe deceaſed.

The death of Queen Catharine. Queen Ann, the Viſcount Rochford and others committed. Queen *Ann* now enjoyed the King without a Rival, whoſe death notwithſtanding not improbably happened too ſoon for her. For the King upon *May-day* at *Greenwich* beholding the Viſcount *Rochfort* the Queens Brother, *Henry Norris*, and others, running a-Tilt, ariſing ſuddenly, and to the wonder of all men departing thence to *London*, cauſed the Viſcount *Rochfort*, *Norris*, the Queen her ſelf, and ſome others, to be apprehended and committed. The Queen being guarded to the *Tower* by the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Audley* Lord Keeper, *Cromwell* Secretary of Eſtate, and *Kingſton* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, at the very entrance upon her knees with dire imprecations diſavowed the crime (whatſoever it were) wherewith ſhe was charged, beſeeching God ſo to regard her as the juſtneſs of her cauſe required.

On the fifteenth of *May* in the Hall of the *Tower* ſhe was arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolk* ſitting high Steward, to whom were adjoined twenty ſix other Peers (and among them the Queens Father) by whom ſhe was to be tryed. The Accuſers having given in their evidence, and the Witneſſes produced, ſhe ſitting in a Chair (whether in regard of any infirmity, or out of honour permitted to the Wife of their Sovereign) having an excellent quick wit, and being a ready ſpeaker, did ſo anſwer to all objections, that had the Peers given in their verdict according to the expectation of the aſſembly, ſhe had been acquitted. But they (among whom the Duke of *Suffolk* the King's Brother-in-Law was chief, one wholly applying himſelf to the King's humour) pronounce

1536.

pronounce her guilty. Whereupon the Duke of *Norfolk* bound to proceed according to the verdict of the Peers, condemned her to death, either by being Burned in the Green in the *Tower*, or Beheaded, as his Majesty in his pleasure should think fit. Her Brother *George* Viscount *Rochfort* was likewise the same day condemned, and shortly after, *Henry Norris*, *William Brierton*, and *Francis Weston* Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber, and *Mark Smeton* a Musician, either as partakers or accessory, were to run the same fortune. The King greatly favoured *Norris*, and is reported to be much grieved that he was to die with the rest. Whereupon he offered pardon to him, conditionally that he would confess that whereof he was accused. But he answered resolutely, and as it became the progenitor of so many valiant Heroes, *That in his conscience he thought her guiltless of the objected crime, but whether she were or no, he could not accuse her of any thing; and that he had rather undergo a thousand deaths, than betray the Innocent.* Upon relation whereof the King cryed out, *Hang him up then, hang him up then.* Which notwithstanding was not accordingly executed: For on the thirteenth of *May*, two days after his condemnation, all of them, *viz.* the Viscount *Rochfort*, *Norris*, *Brierton*, and *Smeton*, were Beheaded at *Tower-hill*. *Norris* left a Son called also *Henry*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* in contemplation of his Father's deserts created Baron of *Ricot*. This Lord *Norris* was Father to those great Captains *William*, *John*, *Thomas*, and *Edward*, in our days so famous throughout Christendom, for their brave exploits in *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, and the *Netherlands*.

The Queen condemned, with her Brother, and Norris.

On the nineteenth of *May* the Queen was brought to the place of Execution in the Green within the *Tower*, some of the Nobility and Companies of the City being admitted, rather to be witnesses than spectators of her death. To whom the Queen having ascended the Scaffold, spake in this manner:

Her Execution.

Friends and good Christian people, I am here in your presence to suffer death, whereto I acknowledge my self adjudged by the Laws; how justly I will not say, for I intend not an accusation of any one. I beseech the Almighty to preserve his Majesty long to reign over you: a more gentle or mild Prince never swayed Scepter: his bounty and clemency towards me I am sure hath been especial. If any one intend an inquisitive survey of my actions, I intreat him to judge favourably of me, and not rashly to admit of any hard censorious conceit. And so I bid the World farewel, beseeching you to commend me in your Prayers to God. To thee O Lord do I commend my Soul.

Then kneeling down she incessantly repeated these words, *Christ have mercy on my soul, Lord Jesus receive my soul*; until the Executioner of *Calais* at one blow smote off her Head with a Sword. Had any one three years before (at what time the King so hot in the pursuit of his love, preferred the enjoying of this Lady beyond

1536. beyond his Friends, his Eſtate, his Health, Safeguard, and his only Daughter) prophetically foretold the unhappy fate of this Princeſs, he ſhould have been believed with *Caſſanara*. But much more incredible may all wiſe men think the unheard of crime for which ſhe was condemned: *viz.* That fearing leſt her Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* born while *Catharine* ſurvived, ſhould be accounted illegitimate, in hope of other (eſpecially male) Iſſue, whereof ſhe deſpaired by the King, now near fifty years old, ſhe had laſciviouſly uſed the company of certain young Courtiers: nay not therewith content, had committed Inceſt with her own Brother. A ſtrange ingratitude in one raiſed from ſo low degree, even to the height of honour. I will not derogate from the Authority of publick Records: But an Act of Parliament againſt her ſhall not work on my belief. Surely it carried ſo little ſhew of probability with forein Princes, that they always deemed it an act of inhuman cruelty. Eſpecially the Eſtates of *Germany*, Confederates for the defence of the Reformed Religion; who having often treated with *Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and other Ambaſſadors, had decreed to make *Henry* Head of their League, and had deſigned an Embaſſy by *John Sturmius*, who ſhould have brought with him into *England* thoſe excellent Divines *Philip Melanchthon* and *Martin Bucer*, with one *George Draco*, who ſhould endeavour that and the Reformation of our Church. But having heard of the lamentable and unworthy (as they judged it) end of the Queen, loathing the King for his inconſtancy and cruelty, they caſt off all farther thought of that matter. I will not preſume to diſcuſs the truth of their opinion: But freely to ſpeak what I my ſelf think; There are two reaſons which ſway much with me in the behalf of the Queen. That her Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* was ſeated in the Royal Throne, where ſhe for ſo many years ruled ſo happily and triumphantly. What ſhall we think, but that the Divine Goodneſs was pleaſed to recompence the unjuſt calamity of the Mother, in the glorious proſperity of the Daughter? And then conſider but the King's precipitated Nuptials the very next day after the death of his former Wife, yet ſcarce interred, and with whoſe warm blood his embrued hands yet reaked: Conſider this, I ſay, and you ſhall eaſily be perſwaded with me, that the inſatiable Prince glutted with the ſatiety of one, and out of the deſire of variety ſeeking to enjoy another, did more willingly give ear to the treacherous calumnies of the malicious Popelings, than either befitted an upright Judge, or a loving Husband. For it ſeemeth wonderful ſtrange to me, that either the fault of the one, or the pleaſing conditions and fair language of the other Wife, ſhould ſo far poſſeſs the King, as that he ſhould procure his Daughter *Elizabeth* to be by Act of Parliament declared illegitimate, the Matrimony contracted with both the former Queens *Catharine* and *Ann* to be pronounced invalid,

Lady Elizabeth diſinherited.

invalid, and the Crown to be perpetually eſtabliſhed on the poſterity of the third Wife, or if the King had no Iſſue by her, that then it ſhould be lawful for him by Will and Teſtament, to transfer it on whom he pleaſed. Parliaments were not then ſo rigid, but that they could flatter the Prince, and condeſcend to his demands, though unjuſt, even in caſes which moſt nearly concerned the publick Weal. But ſervile *Fear* is oft times more ready than *Love*, which ſlowly moves by apprehenſion of *Good*, as the other is quickly forced by the apprehenſion of *Danger*. 1536.

The King marrieth Jane Seymour.

On the twentieth of *May* the King married *Jane Seymour* Daughter of Sir *John Seymour*, who on the nine and twentieth of *May*, being *Whitſonday*, clad in Royal habiliments, was openly ſhewed as Queen. So that the Court of *England* was now like a Stage, whereon are repreſented the viciſſitudes of ever various Fortune. For within one and the ſame Month it ſaw Queen *Ann* flouriſhing, accuſed, condemned, executed, and another aſſumed into her place both of bed and honour. The firſt of *May* (it ſeemeth) ſhe was informed againſt, the ſecond impriſoned, the fifteenth condemned, and the ſeventeenth deprived of her Brother and Friends who ſuffered in her cauſe, and the nineteenth executed. On the twentieth the King married *Jane Seymour*, who on the nine and twentieth was publickly ſhewed as Queen.

Death of the Duke of Somerſet the King's natural Son.

The death of this innocent Lady God ſeemed to revenge in the immature end of the Duke of *Richmond*, the King's only (but natural) Son, a Prince of excellent form and endowments, who deceaſed the two and twentieth of *July*, for whom the King a long time after mourned.

Bourchier *Earl of* Bath.

In the mean time on the nineteenth of *July John Bourchier* Lord *Fitz-waren* was created Earl of *Bath*, whoſe ſucceſſours in that Honour were his Son *John*, who begat *John* deceaſed before his Father, whoſe Son *William* is now Earl of *Bath*. At what time alſo *Thomas Cromwell* a poor Smith's Son, but of a dexterous wit, whoſe firſt riſing was in the Family of Cardinal *Wolſey*, in whoſe ſervice by him faithfully performed, he grew famous, was made Lord *Cromwell*, many dignities being alſo conferred on him, to the increaſe of his eſtate and honour. For firſt he was Maſter of the *Rolls*, and principal Secretary of Eſtate: then Sir *Thomas Bolen* Earl of *Wiltſhire* reſigning, he was made Lord Privy Seal, and after that dignified with the unheard of Title, of *The King's Vicar general in affairs Eccleſiaſtical.* For the authority of the Pope being abrogated, many buſineſſes daily happened, which could not be diſpatched without the King's conſent; who not able to undergo the burthen alone, conferred this authority granted him by Act of Parliament on *Cromwell*, not for that he thought a Lay-man fitter for this dignity than a Clergy-man; but becauſe he had determined under colour and pretence thereof, to put in execution ſome deſigns, wherein the Clergy in all probability would have

Cromwell's *Honour and Dignity.*

1536. moved very ſlowly, and againſt the hair. He was therefore Preſident in the Synod this year. Certainly a deformed ſpectacle, to ſee an unlearned Lay-man Preſident over an aſſembly of ſacred Prelates, and ſuch as for their Learning *England* had in no preceding Ages known the like. For indeed *Henry* is for that much to be commended, who would not eaſily advance any one to place of Government in the Church, but whom his Learning ſhould make worthy. By the authority of this Synod a Book was ſet forth, wherein (many points of Doctrine being propoſed to be by the Curates expounded to their Pariſhioners) mention was made of only three Sacraments, *Baptiſm*, the *Euchariſt*, and *Penance*: ſome Holy-days alſo were abrogated, and other things pertaining to Religion and Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline ſomewhat changed, wherewith many were offended, who preferred *preſcript Errours* before the Truth.

The beginning of Reformation.

The ſubverſion of Religious Houſes of leſs note.

The ſame time, the Parliament aſſembled the fourth of *January*, permitted all Monaſteries, the Revenues whereof exceeded not two hundred Pounds a year, to the King's diſpoſal; who cauſing them to be ſuppreſſed (to the number of three hundred ſeventy and ſix) entred upon their Lands, amounting to thirty two thouſand Pounds a year, and ſelling their goods even at very low rates, (moſt men accounting it ſacrilegious to ſet to ſale the goods of the Church) raiſed above an hundred thouſand Pounds. Theſe things of themſelves were diſtaſtful to the vulgar ſort. Each one did as it were claim a ſhare in the goods of the Church: For many who being neither Monks, nor relied to Religious perſons, did receive no profit of Eccleſiaſtical goods, did notwithſtanding conceive, that it might hereafter come to paſs, that either their Children, Friends, or Kindred, might obtain the places yet ſupplied by others, whereas of theſe goods once confiſcated, they could not hope that any commodity ſhould redound unto them. But the commiſeration of ſo many people, to the number of at leaſt ten thouſand, who were without any warning given, thruſt of doors, and committed to the mercy of the world, was a more forcible cauſe of general diſtaſte. Which notwithſtanding of it ſelf ſufficient, was augmented by the malice of ill diſpoſed and ſeditious perſons, who in their Aſſemblies exaggerated theſe proceedings, *As the beginnings of greater evils; that this was but a tryal of their patience; as yet the ſhrubs and underwoods were but touched, but without ſpeedy remedy the end would be with the fall of the lofty Oaks.* While theſe general diſcontents thus vented themſelves in private, *Cromwell* in *September* ſent forth certain Injunctions to the Clergy, by virtue whereof each Curate was to expound to his Pariſhioners the *Apoſtles Creed*, the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Ten Commandments*, and earneſtly to endeavour that they might learn them in the *Engliſh* Tongue. This drave theſe Male-contents into ſuch extremes, that

1536.

Commotion in Lincolnſhire.

that the midwifry of any occaſion ſerved to produce the prodigious iſſues of their madneſs. For in *Lincolnſhire* the Commons being aſſembled about the beginning of *October*, concerning Subſidies to be paid to the King; as if the ſpirit of fury had generally animated them, they ſuddenly to the number of twenty thouſand took Arms, forcing certain Lords and Gentlemen to be their Leaders, and to ſwear to ſuch Articles as they ſhould propound, ſuch as refuſed were either impriſoned or put to death, as was a certain Prieſt, Chancellor to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*. The King being certified of this Commotion, ſent againſt the Rebels with great Forces the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Kent*, either to appeaſe or ſuppreſs them. The rumour of an Army marching againſt them, ſo quailed their courages, that they ſent to excuſe themſelves unto the King, pretending;

That their endeavours tended to no other than the ſafety of his Majeſty, and good of the Realm: That he having followed the advice of bad Counſellors, had lately beyond the example of any of his Anceſtors, changed many things in the eſtate of Commonwealth and Church: That having diſpoſſeſſed the religious Inhabitants, he had demoliſhed many Monaſteries, where the poor had daily relief, and God was wont to be devoutly worſhipped by godly men: That the Feaſts of Saints inſtituted many years ſince, were profaned by his command: That new Tenets which the Catholick Church did abhor, were every where preached and obtruded to the people: That now in each aged perſon was to be ſeen the Emblem of Ignorance, who having one foot in the grave, were fain to betake them to their ABC *Books, that they might learn new kind of Prayers never before uſed by any Chriſtians: That many unjuſt and pernicious Laws had lately been enacted, and great Subſidies exacted both of the Clergy and Laity even in the time of Peace, which were not wont to be demanded but for the maintenance of Wars: That the Commons in general did diſtaſte theſe things; and the rather, for that they conceived them to be but trials of their patience, and the beginnings of more inſupportable evils. Wherefore they humbly beſeeched his Majeſty, whom they could not ſafely petition unarmed, that the Authors of theſe pernicous counſels might ſit no longer at the ſtern, but that others who ſhould faithfully endeavour the amendment of the aforeſaid evils, might ſupply their places, and that it might not be any way prejudicial to them, that they had taken Arms, which even with the loſs of their deareſt blood they were ready to employ for his Majeſties ſafety, and the defence of the Realm.*

The King had a Spirit befitting his greatneſs, and perceiving them to ſhrink, could not diſſemble the rage he had conceived at the preſumption of this raſcally Rout, who durſt capitulate with their Sovereign, and ſeek to curb the unlimited power of Kings. Wherefore he roughly commands them, that without delay one hundred of their company, ſuch as by his appointment ſhould be made choice of, ſhould be delivered up to his mercy.

1536.

The performance whereof if they but deferred, nothing but extremity was to be expected. The report whereof made the Rebels disband, each one fearing leſt himſelf might help to make up the number of this *Hecatomb*.

Inſurrection in Yorkſhire.

This blaze was yet ſcarce quenched, when within ſix days another far more dangerous, kindled by the ſame accidents, bewrayed it ſelf in *Yorkſhire*, where no fewer than forty thouſand had gathered together, naming themſelves *Fellows of the Holy Pilgrimage*; and that the ſpecious pretext of Religion might palliate their madneſs, they in their Enſigns on the one ſide pourtraied the Saviour of the World hanging on the Croſs, on the other ſide the Chalice, and the Hoſt by them called the Body of our Lord. They ſurpriſed many of the Nobility, as *Edward Lee* Archbiſhop of *York*, (he that wrote againſt *Eraſmus*) the Lords *Darcy* and *Huſſey*, beſides many Knights and Gentlemen, whom they forced to be ſworn to their party, whereto it is very probable ſome of them were much againſt their wills, who notwithſtanding ſuffered for it afterward upon a Scaffold. Againſt theſe Rebels were ſent the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Marqueſs of *Exceter*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who endeavoured peaceably to compoſe all matters, and to bring this corrupt Body to its former temper without Phlebotomy. For they knew they were to deal with ſuch a baſe ſort of people, to whom if they gave the overthrow, yet would their Victory be inglorious; neither could they promiſe themſelves ſo happy ſucceſs againſt the moſt active and hardy bodies, and moſt enured to Warfare of the whole Realm: Beſides, deſpair had caſt them into the extremes either of victory or death, reſolutely determining not to flie to ſeek an ignominious end at a Gallows, which if they eſcaped, they could expect no other than an accuſtomed miſerable life, more intolerable than the moſt horrid torturing death. Theſe reaſons made theſe Nobles unwilling to hazard a Battel. But the Rebels deſperate reſolution admitted no parley, wherefore by conſent of both Armies the Field was appointed on the Eve of the Saints *Simon* and *Jude*. Between both Armies did run a little Brook, ſo ſhallow, that on the Eve of the Battel it was in moſt places paſſable for footmen, even without danger of wetting their feet: But that night (God abhorring the effuſion of ſo much *Engliſh* blood) a rain (and that no great one) fell, which ſo raiſed this little Brook (the like whereof never happened there before) that it became impaſſable both for horſe and man, which hindered the meeting of the two Armies. This chance did ſo work in the ſuperſtitious and giddy heads of this Rout, that they perſwaded themſelves, God by this Prodigy did manifeſtly forbid their intended Battel. Wherefore pardon being again offered (as it had formerly been) as well to the Leaders and Gentry, as the reſt who had been either authors or partakers in this Tumult, finding

finding it confirmed by the King, with promiſe moreover, that he would have a care that theſe things whereof they complained, ſhould be redreſſed, they laying aſide their Arms, peaceably repaired each one to his home. They in the heat of this their fury had for ſix weeks ſtraitly beſieged *Scarborough*-Caſtle, then kept by Sir *Ralph Evers* of the noble Family of *Evers*, who without any other Garriſon than of his Houſhold-ſervants and Tenants, and ſo ſlenderly victualled, that for twenty days together they ſuſtained themſelves with Bread and Water, manfully defended it againſt their furious attempts, and kept it until the Commotion was appeaſed. For which brave ſervice the King made him Leader of the Forces appointed for the defence of the Marches towards *Scotland*; which he with great credit performed, until he was in the year of our Lord 1545 unfortunately ſlain.

1536.

Scarborough-*Caſtle beſieged.*

Neither was the Eſtate of *Ireland* more peaceable than of *England*. *Girald Fitz-Girald* Earl of *Kildare* having been twelve years Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, was for ſome ſlight matters removed, called into *England*, and condemned to death; which puniſhment he through the malice of *Wolſey* had undergone, had not friendſhip ſhewed its effects in the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to whoſe cuſtody the Earl was committed. He having received a Mandate for the execution of the Earl, durſt hazard the diſpleaſure of the potent Cardinal, to ſave his friend. Wherefore he repairs to the King at midnight, deſirous to know his Majeſty's pleaſure concerning the Earl; who not only diſapproved the Mandate, but alſo pardoning the Earl, received him into his favour, and a few years after reſtored him to his former dignity of Lord Deputy. But theſe garboils happening in *England*, he is for as ſlight ſuſpitions as before, revoked, and commanded to attend at the Council-Table, where by his anſwers he appeared not altogether ſo innocent, but that he was again committed to the *Tower*. Before his departure out of *Ireland*, the King had commanded him to ſubſtitute ſome one in his place, for whoſe faith and diligence he would undertake. He had a Son named *Thomas*, little above twenty years old, a haughty and ſtout young Lord, very ingenious, and exceedingly affecting his Father. To this Son, as to another *Phaeton*, he commits the guidance of his Chariot;

Rebellion in Ireland.

Sed quæ non viribus iſtis
Munera conveniunt, nec tam puerilibus annis:

which indeed proved fatal to them both, and to almoſt the whole Family. For no ſooner was the Earl impriſoned, but report (raiſed as is conjectured by his enemies) beheaded him, threatning the like to his Off-ſpring and Brethren, whoſe deſtruction the King had moſt certainly reſolved. The author of this report was uncertain, and the young Lord as raſhly credulous, who taking Arms, ſolicited the aid of his friends againſt the King's injuſtice.

He

1536. He had then five Uncles Brethren to his Father, three of which at firſt diſſwaded him from theſe violent proceedings. But paſſion had excluded reaſon; and they at length aſſociate themſelves with their Nephew, with whom they were involved in the ſame ruine. Many others flocking unto him, he had ſuddenly raiſed a great Army, wherewith marching up and down the Countrey, he robbed and killed them who refuſed to obey him: And among the reſt, he permitted the Archbiſhop of *Dublin* to be murthered in his ſight. The poor Earl already afflicted with a Palſie, was ſo ſtricken to the heart with the news of this Tumult, that he but a few days ſurvived the knowledge of his unhappineſs. The King levying great Forces, quickly curbed the unruly Youth, and after ſome months forced him to yield. His Uncles were either taken, or willingly ſubmitted themſelves. All of them were ſent to *London*, and there brought to their anſwer. There goes a Story, that thoſe three Uncles who endeavoured to reſtrain their headſtrong Nephew, did half preſume on the King's clemency, until in the paſſage demanding of the Maſter the name of the Ship wherein they ſailed; and underſtanding it was called *The Cow*, bethinking themſelves of a certain Prophecy, *That five Sons of an Earl ſhould in the belly of a Cow be carried into* England, *never to return*; they forthwith deſpaired of pardon. The event approved the skill of the Wizard: For ſome enemies to this noble Family incenſing the King, by ſuggeſting, that he ſhould never expect to ſettle *Ireland* as long as any of the race of the *Fitz-Giralds* remained, eaſily prevailed with the King for their Execution. In regard whereof I cannot blame *Girald* the Brother of *Thomas*, who truſting not to the weak plea of his innocence, then ſick of the Meaſles as he was, ſought by making an eſcape, to ſet himſelf out of the reach of malice. Being therefore packed up in a bundle of clothes, he was privately conveyed to one of his Friends, with whom he lurked until he found an opportunity of eſcaping into *France*, where he was for a time favourably received by the King. But long he could not be there ſecure, the Agents of *Henry* preſſing hard, That by the League all Fugitives were to be delivered: wherefore he went thence into the *Netherlands*; where finding himſelf in no leſs danger than before, he fled into *Italy* to *Reignald Pool*, who maintained and uſed him very nobly, and at length procured him to be reſtored to his Countrey and the Honors of his Anceſtors.

Cardinal Pool. The mention of *Pool* falls fit with our time, he being this year on the two and twentieth of *December* by Pope *Paul* the Fourth choſen into the Colledge of Cardinals. He was near of blood to the King, who firſt beſtowed Learning on him, and afterward finding his modeſty and excellent diſpoſition, conferred on him the Deanry of *Exceter*. But travelling afterwards to forein Univerſities, he was in *Italy* quickly bewitched with the Sorceries of

of the *Circe* of *Rome*, inſomuch that he became a deadly enemy to his Foſterer, his Prince, his Kinſman. For when he would neither allow of the Divorce from the Lady *Catharine*, nor the abrogating of the Authority of the Pope, and openly condemned other the King's proceedings in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, refuſing alſo to obey the King, who commanded him home; *Henry* diſpoſed of his Deanry, and withdrew the large ſtipend which he had yearly allowed him. The Pope therefore intending to make uſe of this man as an Engin of battery againſt the King (and being induced by the commendations of Cardinal *Contaren*) beſtowed on him a Cardinal's *Hat*, and was thereby aſſured of him, who had of late been ſuſpected to have been ſeaſoned with the Leaven of purer Doctrine. But of that hereafter. 1536.

ANNO DOM. 1537. *REG.* 29.

THe accidents of this year were Tragical, and *England* the Scene of blood and deaths of many famous Perſonages. On the third of *February* was *Thomas Fitz-Girald* beheaded for Treaſon, his five Uncles hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their members fixed over the Gates of *London*. The ſame month, *Nicholas Muſgrave* and *Thomas Gilby*, for that ſtirring a new Rebellion, they had beſieged *Carlile*, were executed. 1537.

Rebels executed.

The tenth of *March* was *John Paſlew* Batchelor of Divinity and Abbot of *Whalley*, put to death at *Lancaſter*, and with him one *Eaſtgate* a Monk of the ſame place; and three days after them another Monk called *Haydock* was hanged at *Whalley*. The Abbots of *Sauley* and *Woburn* with two Monks make the like end at *Woburn*. And a little after, one Doctor *Macarell*, another Abbot, the Vicar of *Louth*, two other Prieſts, and ſeven Lay-men. All theſe, for as much as I can any way collect, were condemned for having been eſpecial furtherers of the late Rebellions. But the Chieftains and nobler ſort were reſerved until *June*, at what time the Lords *Darcy* and *Huſſey* were beheaded, the one at *Lincoln*, the other at *London*; Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Francis Bigot*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, and Sir *John Bulmer* were likewiſe put to death: *Margaret* Lady to Sir *John Bulmer* was burned at *London*: *William Thurſt* Abbot of *Fountaines*, *Adam Sudbury* Abbot of *Gervaux*, the Abbot of *Rivers*, *Wold* Prior of *Birlington*, *George Lumley*, *Nicholas Tempeſt* Eſquires, and *Robert Aske*, with many others, as having been partakers in the late Inſurrection, did likewiſe partake in puniſhment for the ſame. And for a Commotion in *Somerſetſhire* in *April* were threeſcore condemned, whereof only fourteen ſuffered.

But leſt any one may wonder at theſe ſevere and unheard of courſes taken againſt the Clergy, I think it not amiſs to relate what

1537.

Cardinal Pool *writes againſt the King.*

what *Sleidan* writes of Cardinal *Pool*, who ſet forth one or two Books, which as yet lurking at *Rome*, about this time were ſpred abroad in *Germany*, and came at length to the King's hands. Wherein directing his ſtile to the King, he ſharply reprehendeth him *for taking upon him the title of* Head of the Church, *which only belonged to the* Pope, *who is* Chriſt's *Vicar on earth*, &c. Then he proceeds to the matter of his Divorce, alledging, *That he neither out of terrour of conſcience, nor fear of God, (as he pretended) but out of luſt and blind love had forſaken the Lady* Catharine *his Wife, whom his Brother Prince* Arthur *a weak young man, and but fourteen years old, had left a Virgin: That it was not lawful for him to marry* Ann Bolen, *whoſe Siſter he had before uſed as his Concubine: And that he himſelf had confeſſed to the Emperour and others, That he found the Lady* Catharine *a Maid. He alſo eagerly reproveth him for ſeeking the Opinions of the Univerſities concerning his former Marriage, and triumphing in his own wickedneſs, when ſome of them had pronounced it Inceſtuous; and that he might be aſhamed to prefer the Daughter of a Whore, before one that was legitimate, and a moſt Virtuous Princeſs. Then ſpeaking of the death of the Biſhop of* Rocheſter *and Sir* Thomas More, *he deteſts his cruelty. He then rips up what tyranny he had exerciſed over his Subjects of all degrees, in what miſeries he had plunged this flouriſhing Realm, what dangers he incurred from the Emperour, in regard of the injury offered to his Aunt, and the overthrow of Religion; and that he could not expect any aid either from his own or forein Nations, who had deſerved ſo ill of the Chriſtian Commonwealth. After this, he whets on the Emperour to revenge the diſhonour of his Family; affirming that* Turciſm (meaning the Proteſtant Religion) *had found entertainment in* England *and* Germany. *And after many bitter reproofs, he invites* Henry *to repentance, perſwading him, That for theſe evils there was no other remedy, but to return to the boſom of the Church, in the defence whereof (a moſt glorious example) he had made uſe not only of his Sword, but his Pen alſo.*

Neither did the Cardinal only by Book, but by other perſonal endeavours manifeſt his ſpleen againſt the King, being ſent Ambaſſador from the Pope to the *French*, under colour of reconciling him with the Emperour; but his chief errant was, to combine them both againſt *Henry*. Whereof he having intelligence, did by his Agent earneſtly ſolicit *Francis*, That in regard of their mutual amity, he would cauſe *Pool* to be apprehended, as guilty of high Treaſon, and ſent to him, where he ſhould undergo the puniſhment due therefore. But becauſe Religion and the Law of Nations had been violated in betraying any (eſpecially the Pope's) Ambaſſador, the *French* could not yield to the King's requeſt: But to ſhew that he would adminiſter no cauſe of offence, he refuſed to admit of his Embaſſy, and commanded him ſpeedily to depart out of his Dominions.

Hercules ſtature might be gueſſed at by the proportion of his foot;

and by this one man's endeavours, *Henry* was taught what, if need were, he was to expect of his Clergy. So that he was eaſily induced as any of them offended, to ſend him to his grave, for that a dead Lion biteth not: And this courſe being taken with his profeſſed enemies, the fear of the like puniſhment would ſecure him of the reſt. 1537.

The birth of Prince Edward.

On the twelfth of *October*, the Queen having long ſuffered the throws of a moſt difficult travel, and ſuch a one, wherein either the Mother or the Infant muſt neceſſarily periſh, out of her womb was ripped Prince *Edward*, who after ſucceeded his Father in the Crown. The Queen only ſurviving two days, died on the fourteenth of *October*, and on the twelfth of *November* was with great pomp buried at *Windſor* in the middle of the Quire, on whoſe Tomb is inſcribed this Epitaph:

Phœnix Jana *jacet nato Phœnice*; *dolendum*,
Sæcula Phœnices nulla tuliſſe duas.

Here a Phenix lieth, whoſe death
To another Phenix gave breath:
It is to be lamented much,
The World at once ne'r knew two ſuch.

Seymour *Earl of* Hertford.

Fitz-William *Earl of* Southampton.

Powlet *and* Ruſſel *riſe.*

On the eighteenth of *October* the Infant was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Cheſter*: and with him his Uncle *Edward Seymour* Brother to the deceaſed Queen, Lord *Beauchamp*, and Earl of *Hertford*; which Honours only (and not thoſe afterwards conferred on him) he left to his poſterity. *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Admiral, was made Earl of *Southampton*. Then alſo *William Powlet* and *John Ruſſel* began their races in the liſts of Honour; *Powlet* being made Treaſurer, and *Ruſſel* Comptroller of the King's Houſhold, and both ſworn of the Privy Council. Neither was here their *non ultra*, the one being afterward raiſed to Lord Treaſurer of *England* and Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, the other to Earl of *Bedford*, wherein he dying in the year 1554, his Son *Francis* that pious old man, and liberal reliever of the Poor, ſucceeded him, who at the very inſtant of his death loſt his Son *Francis* ſlain by a *Scot*, Anno 1587. Which *Francis* was Father to *Edward* Earl of *Bedford*, and Brother to *William* by King *James* created Lord *Ruſſel*. *Powlet* living to be a very decrepit old man, had to his Succeſſor his Nephew by his Son *William*, named alſo *William* the ſole Marqueſs of *England*.

And to end this year with death, as it began, *Thomas Howard* youngeſt Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, having been fifteen months impriſoned for affiancing himſelf without the King's conſent to *Margaret* Daughter to *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus* and Lady *Margaret* the King's Siſter, on the firſt day of *November*, to the unſpeakable good of this Iſland, deceaſed in the *Tower*.

1537. For this *Margaret* being after married to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, had by him *Henry* the Father of King *James* of ſacred memory, the moſt happy Unitor of divided *Britain*.

ANNO DOM. 1538. *REG.* 30.

1538. IT is at length after many Ages reſolved, That through the ſuperſtitious abuſe of Images, God was robbed of his due honour. The King much prone to Reformation (eſpecially if any thing might be gotten by it) thought it fit to remove this ſtumbling-block, and the rather, for that he conceived his Treaſury would be thereby ſupplied. There were ſome Images of more eſpecial fame, and Shrines of reputed Saints, whereunto Pilgrimages were made from the fartheſt parts of the Kingdom, nay even from forein Countries alſo; the Oblations whereto were ſo many and ſo rich, that they not only ſufficed for the maintenance of Prieſts and Monks, but alſo to the heaping up of incredible wealth. The Shrine of *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was covered with plates of Gold, and laden with Gifts of ineſtimable value. The blind zeal of thoſe and former times, had decked it with Gems, Chains of Gold of great weight, and * Pearls of that large ſize, which in our Language find no proper term. This Tomb was razed, and his Bones found entire; inſtead of whoſe Head the Monks uſually obtruded the Scull of ſome other, peradventure better deſerving than did their ſuppoſed Martyr. The ſpoil of this Monument, wherein nothing was meaner than Gold, filled two Cheſts ſo full, that each of them required eight ſtrong men for the portage. Among the reſt was a Stone of eſpecial luſtre called the *Regal of France*, offered by *Lewis* the Seventh, King of *France*, in the year 1179, together with a great maſſy Cup of Gold, at what time he alſo beſtowed an annuity on the Monks of that Church, of an hundred Tons of Wine. This Stone was afterward highly prized by the King, who did continually wear it on his thumb. *Erasmus* ſpeaks much of the magnificence of this Monument, as alſo of the Image of our Lady of *Walſingham*, both which he had ſeen and admired. This Image was alſo ſtripped of whatſoever worthy thing it had, the like being alſo done in other the like places, and the Statues and Bones of the dead digged up and burned, that they might be no further cauſe of Superſtition. Among the reſt of theſe condemned Images there was a Crucifix in *South-wales*, called of the Inhabitants, *Darvel Gatheren*, concerning which there was a kind of Prophecy, That it ſhould one day fire a whole Foreſt. It chanced that at this time one Doctor *Foreſt* a Frier-Obſervant, who had formerly taken the Oath of Supremacy, was upon his relapſe apprehended and condemned of Treaſon and Hereſie:

The abuſe of Images reſtrained.

Becket's Shrine demoliſhed.

* Uniones.

The Image of our Lady of Walſingham.

Frier Foreſt *makes good a Prophecy.*

Hereſie: For this Frier a new Gallows was erected, whereon he was hanged by the arm-pits, and underneath him a fire made of this Image, wherewith he was burned, and ſo by his death made good the Prophecy. 1538.

Great was the Treaſure which the King raiſed of the ſpoils of Churches and Religious Houſes. But whether the guilt of Sacriledge (adhering like a conſuming Canker) made this ill gotten Treaſure unprofitable, or that he found he had need of greater ſupplies to withſtand the dangers that threatned him from abroad, not content with what he had already corraded, he caſts his eyes on the Wealth of the Abbeys that had eſcaped the violence of the former Tempeſt: and not expecting (as he deemed it) a needleſs Act of Parliament, ſeiſeth on the reſt of the Abbeys and Religious Houſes of the Realm. At firſt he begins with that at *Canterbury*, dedicated to *Auguſtine* the *Engliſh* Apoſtle, who was there interred. This being the firſt-fruits of Chriſtianity among this Nation (I mean the *Saxons*, for the *Britans* had been watred with ſtreams derived even from the Fountains Apoſtolick, far more pure than were thoſe later overflows of *Auguſtine*) he invades, expels the Monks, and divides their means between his Exchequer and Courtiers. *Battel*-Abbey built by *William* the Conquerour, in the ſame place where by the overthrow of *Harold* the laſt *Saxon* King he purchaſed this Kingdom to himſelf and his poſterity, did alſo run the ſame fortune. So that it is not ſo much to be wondered at, if thoſe at *Merton* in *Surrey*, *Stratford* in *Eſſex*, *Lewis* in *Suſſex*, the *Charterhouſe*, *Black-Friers*, *Gray-Friers*, and *White-Friers* in *London*, felt the fury of the ſame Whirlwind.

Saint Auguſtine's at Canterbury,

Battel-*Abbey,*

and others ſuppreſſed.

At the ſame time among many other Reformations in this Church, that wholeſom Injunction was one, whereby the Bible tranſlated and printed in *Engliſh*, was commanded to be kept in every Pariſh Church, and to be conveniently placed where any that were ſo deſirous, might read therein.

The Bible tranſlated.

They who were more eagerly addicted to the ſuperſtition of their Anceſtors, brooked not theſe proceedings, among whom were chief *Henry Courtney* Marqueſs of *Exceter*, *Henry* Lord *Mountague* Brother to Cardinal *Pool*, and Sir *Edward Nevill* Brother to the Lord *Abergavenny*, who on the fifth day of *November*, upon the accuſation of Sir *Geoffry Poole* Brother to the Lord *Mountague*, were committed to the *Tower*, for having maintained intelligence with the Cardinal, and conſpired the King's deſtruction; for which they were on the third of the enſuing *January*, the Lord *Audley* ſitting high Steward for the time, arraigned and condemned, and on the ninth of the ſame month beheaded. Two Prieſts named *Crofts* and *Colins*, with one *Holland* a Mariner, as partakers in the ſame guilt, were hanged and quartered at *Tyburn*. This *Courtney* was by the Father's ſide of a very noble

The Marqueſs of Exceter *and others beheaded*

1538. deſcent, deriving himſelf from the Blood Royal of *France*, by *Hugh Courtney* created Earl of *Devonſhire* by *Edward* the Third. But by his Mother he far more nearly participated of the Blood Royal of *England*, being Son to *Catharine* Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth, who was Siſter to Queen *Elizabeth* the Mother of King *Henry*. The King long favoured him as his Couſin-german, but at length in regard of his near Alliance to the Crown, became jealous of his Greatneſs, whereof he had lately given more than ſufficient teſtimony, in ſuddenly arming ſome thouſands to oppoſe againſt the *Yorkſhire* Rebels. The conſideration whereof made *Henry* gladly entertain any occaſion to cut off this Noble Gentleman.

Lambert *convented, and burned.*

About the ſame time *John Lambert* a religious and learned man was alſo condemned, the King himſelf ſitting Judge. This *Lambert* being accuſed of Hereſie, appealed from his Ordinary to the King; who fearing leſt he ſhould be accounted a *Lutheran*, reſolved upon this occaſion to manifeſt to the World how he ſtood affected in Religion. To this end ſummoning as many of the Biſhops and other Peers of the Realm as could conveniently be preſent, he cauſed Scaffolds to be built in *Weſtminſter* Hall, from whence the people might be ſpectators and witneſſes of the Acts of that day. On the right hand of the King were ſeated the Biſhops, and behind them the Judges and chief Lawyers of the Realm: at his left hand ſate the Temporal Lords, and behind them the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. *Lambert* being brought to the Bar, *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, by the King's appointment made an Oration, wherein he declared the cauſe of this meeting; ſaying,

That Lambert *having been accuſed of Hereſie before his Ordinary, had made his Appeal unto the King, as if expecting from his Majeſty more favour for Hereſie, than from the Biſhop. So that he now found it to be true, whereof he had been oft informed, That the credulous People were verily perſwaded, that his Majeſty abhorring the Religion of his Anceſtors, had embraced the new Tenets lately broached in* Germany. *True it was, the tyranny of the Court of* Rome *had been troubleſom to his Predeceſſors, but to Him intolerable, and therefore had He ſhaken it off: That Religion might no longer patronize Idleneſs, He had expelled Monks, who were no other than Drones in the Bee-hive: He had taken away the idolatrous worſhip of Images, had permitted to his Subjects the reading and knowledge of God's Word, hitherto prohibited by the Church of* Rome, *leſt their wiles and cozenages ſhould be diſcovered: And had made reformation in ſome other things peradventure of leſs moment, which no man could deny, would much redound to the good both of Church and Commonwealth. But as for other things, He had determined there ſhould be no change in the Church during his Reign: Which his Reſolution He now intended publickly to manifeſt. His Majeſty's deſire was, That the Delinquent renouncing his*

1538.

his Errours, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be received into the boſom of the Church: To which end partly, and partly to ſhew that He thirſted not after any one's blood, out of his clemency, He had procured the preſence of thoſe Grave and Learned men (meaning the Biſhops) *who by Authority and force of Arguments ſhould if it were poſſible, bring back this ſtrayed Sheep into the Fold of the Church. But if he perverſly oppugned the Truth, and all perſwaſions notwithſtanding, became immoveable, He would by this man's exemplary puniſhment make known, what others ſhould in the like Caſe expect, and inſtruct the Judges and Magiſtrates what they ought to do therein.*

The Biſhop having ended, the King demanded of *Lambert*, What he thought of the preſence of *Chriſt*'s Body in the Sacrament? Whoſe anſwer being little to the King's liking, reaſons and arguments were produced, as if a Diſputation in the Schools, and not a Juſticiary Seſſion had been appointed. Five whole hours this Diſputation laſted, the King being as it were Prior Opponent, Archbiſhop *Cranmer* alſo, and nine other Biſhops forcibly preſſing upon poor *Lambert*. But neither this courſe, nor the battery of threats and terrours prevailing againſt his conſtancy, the King commanded the Lord *Cromwell* to paſs ſentence of condemnation upon him, by virtue whereof within a day or two after he was burned. Neither this dreadful Sentence, nor his torturing death did any way appale him, which he ſo little regarded, that going to his death, he merrily took his Breakfaſt with ſome Gentlemen into whoſe company he chanced, as if he had been going to ſome ſportful Game, rather than his Execution.

ANNO DOM. 1539. *REG.* 31.

1539.

ON the third of *March*, Sir *Nicholas Carew* Knight of the Garter, and Maſter of the Horſe, was beheaded for being of Counſel with the Marqueſs of *Exceter*, and the Lord *Mountague*. And on the eight and twentieth of *April* a Parliament began, wherein *Margaret* Counteſs of *Salisbury* Mother to Cardinal *Pool*, and Daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence* who was Brother to *Edward* the Fourth, was attainted of high Treaſon, and condemned without hearing, and with her the Cardinal her Son, *Gertrude* Widow to the Marqueſs of *Exceter*, Sir *Adrian Forteſcue*, and Sir *Thomas Dingley*. *Dingley* and *Forteſcue* were beheaded on the tenth of *July*, and the Counteſs being then aged threeſcore and ten years, ſuffered two years after.

Margaret *Counteſs of* Salisbury *condemned.*

In the ſame Parliament it was Enacted, That the King might erect new Epiſcopal Sees in opportune places of the Realm. For the performance whereof, and of ſome other things no leſs ſpecious, the late diſſolution of thoſe Abbeys whereon the King ſeiſed, was confirmed, and all Religious Houſes as yet unſuppreſſed, were

The ſubverſion of Religious Houſes.

1539. were granted to the King for ever. Upon notice whereof, many either out of guilt of conſcience, or deſirous to purchaſe the King's favour, ſurrendred their charge even before they were required. And firſt of all the Abbot and Convent of St. *Albans* (the firſt Abbot of the Realm, as St. *Alban* was the firſt Martyr: which Honour was conferred on this Houſe by Pope *Adrian* the Fourth, whoſe Father had long lived a Monaſtical life therein) forſake their rich Abbey ſeated near the ruins of *Verolamium*, once a great and antient City, and leave it to the mercy of the Courtiers. Which dereliction afforded matter of example to many other, few enjoying that ſecurity of conſcience, that they durſt lay claim to their own. Only three were found, whoſe innocence made them ſo regardleſs of threats, promiſes, or reward, that they could never be induced to betray the goods of their Churches to the mercileſs impiety of ſacrilegious Harpies: Which three were *John Bech* Abbot of *Colcheſter* in *Eſſex*, *Hugh Faringdon* Abbot of the Abbey of *Reding*, built by *Henry* the Firſt for the place of his Sepulture, and *Richard Whiting* Abbot of *Glaſtonbury*, one of the ſtatelieſt and antienteſt Monaſteries of *Europe*, being firſt builded by *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, who buried the Body of our Saviour *Chriſt*, and is himſelf there interred, as is alſo (beſide ſome *Saxon* Kings) that moſt renowned King *Arthur*, whoſe glorious Acts, had they been undertaken by a fit Hiſtorian, would have ranked him among the antient Worthies without the help of a fabulous Romance. Againſt theſe men therefore, other courſes not availing, that one was taken of adminiſtring the Oath of Supremacy, which they refuſing, are as enemies to the Eſtate condemned of high Treaſon. *Bech* was hanged at *Colcheſter*, and *Faringdon* with two Prieſts named *Rug* and *Ognion* at *Reding*. *Whiting*, a man very aged, and by reaſon thereof doating, ſcarce perceiving that he had been condemned, returning from the place of Judgment (which was in the Biſhop's Palace at *Wells*, diſtant from *Glaſtonbury* four miles) with conceit that he was reſtored to his Abbey, was ſuddenly rapt up to the top of the *Tor* (a Hill that ſurveys the Countrey round about) and without leave of bidding his Convent farewel, which he earneſtly begged, was preſently hanged, the ſtain of ingratitude ſticking faſt to the authors of this ſpeedy execution, of whom the poor Abbot is reported to have better deſerved. With *Whiting* were two Monks alſo executed, named *Roger James* and *John Thorn*, their Bodies all drawn and quartered, and ſet up in divers places of the Countrey. The puniſhment of theſe few ſo terrified the reſt, that without more ado they permitted all to the King's diſpoſal. The number of thoſe that were ſuppreſt is not eaſily caſt: But the names of the chiefeſt, and whoſe Abbots had voices among the Peers in the higher Houſe of Parliament, are theſe:

Some Abbots executed.

Glaſtonbury.

St. *Peter's*

1539.

St. *Peter*'s in *Weſtminſter*,
St. *Alban*'s,
St. *Edmundsbury*,
St. *Benet*'s of *Hulme*,
Berdney,
Shrewsbury,
Crowland,
Abingdon,
Eveſham,
Gloceſter,
Ramſey,
St. *Auguſtine*'s in *Canterbury*,
Selbey,
Peterborough,
St. *Maries* in *York*,
Tewksbury,
Reding,
Battel,
Winchcomb,
Hide by *Wincheſter*,
Cirenceſter,
Waltham,
Walmesbury,
Thorney,
St. *John*'s in *Colcheſter*,
Coventrey,
Taveſtock.

A catalogue of the Abbots who had voices among the Peers.

The King, that he might ſome way ſupply the want of the ſuffrages of ſo many learned and wiſe men in the Parliament Houſe, as alſo that of ſo great a prey he might conſecrate (if not the tenth to *Hercules*, at leaſt) ſome part to God, according to his promiſe erected ſome new Biſhopricks; whereof one was at *Weſtminſter*, a place ſo near and contiguous to *London*, that it might rather ſeem a part of the Suburbs thereof, than a diſtinct City. But a City it is, and ſo ennobled with many ſtately Monuments, that for Beauty it contendeth with moſt in Chriſtendom: In it are the chief Seat of the Prince, and Palaces of the Nobility, the chief ſeats of Juſtice in the Land, the moſt magnificent Church, wherein are interred moſt of our Kings and Nobles, whoſe ſumptuous Monuments render it unparallel'd even by the World. Another was at *Oxford*, in the Colledge founded by Cardinal *Wolſey*. The reſt at *Peterborough*, *Briſtol*, *Cheſter*, and *Gloceſter*. *Weſtminſter* was by Queen *Mary* again reduced to an Abbey, and furniſhed with Monks of St. *Benet*'s Order; whom Queen *Elizabeth* again expelled, and converted the Revenues of the Biſhoprick to the maintenance of Scholars, and other pious uſes. As for the other Sees, they remain to this day. From thoſe antient Cathedral Churches wherein Monks were ſeated, nothing was taken away; only Canons were placed there inſtead of Monks, as likewiſe in the Cathedral Churches of the new erected Biſhopricks. The Churches, wherein antiently Canons and Prebendaries were inſtituted, are

New Biſhopricks erected.

In *ENGLAND*,		In *WALES*,
York,	*Wells*,	St. *David*'s,
London,	*Lichfield*,	*Landaff*,
Lincoln,	*Hereford*,	*Bangor*,
Sarisbury,	*Chicheſter*.	St. *Aſaph*.
Exceter,		

The

1539.

The CATHEDRALS founded with Monks, were

Canterbury,	*Norwich*,	*Dureſm*,
Wincheſter,	*Worceſter*,	*Carlile.*
Ely,	*Rocheſter*,	

The new SEES where primarily were Abbeys, are

Oxford,	*Gloceſter*,	*Peterborough.*
Briſtol,	*Cheſter*,	

So there are ſix and twenty Biſhopricks within this Realm, and in every Cathedral, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, and other Miniſters, as alſo a Dean who governs the reſt, unleſs it be in St. *David*'s, where the Chanter; and *Landaf*, where the Archdeacon is Head of the Chapter.

Theſe things thus ordered, the King ſtill jealous leſt it ſhould be conceived that he had forſaken the Religion of his Fathers, began to thunder out againſt the maintainers of new Tenets, and much againſt *Cranmer*'s will, by Parliament enacted the Law of the Six Articles, the ſumm whereof was,

The Law of the Six Articles.

I. *That if any one ſhould deny the True and Real preſence of the Body of* CHRIST *in the Sacrament, or ſhould maintain, That the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine remained after the words of Conſecration pronounced by the Prieſt, he ſhould be burned as an Heretick.*

II. *If any ſhould deny the Sacrament to be ſufficiently adminiſtred under one* Species *only:*

III. *Or ſhould hold it lawful for Prieſts to be married; but much more he that having entred into holy Orders, ſhould preſume to take a Wife:*

IV. *Or that Chaſtity vowed upon mature deliberation was not to be kept:*

V. *Or that private Maſſes ought not to be celebrated in the Church of* England, *or elſewhere:*

VI. *Or that Auricular Confeſſion was not expedient; he ſhould for his errours undergo loſs of life by hanging.*

Theſe Laws like thoſe of *Draco* written in Blood, were the deſtruction of multitudes, and ſilenced thoſe who had been hitherto furtherers of Reformation. Among whom *Hugh Latimer* and *Nicholas Schaxton* Biſhops, the one of *Worceſter*, the other of *Salisbury*, were remarkable, who that they might quietly enjoy themſelves, the Parliament being ſcarce diſſolved, did both on one day, *viz.* the firſt of *July*, reſign their Biſhopricks. *Latimer* (who for the freedom of his conſcience could as willingly reſign his life, as he did this rich Biſhoprick, being burned for it in Queen *Maries* reign) after his Reſignation taking off his Rochet,

Latimer and Schaxton reſign their Biſhopricks.

Rochet, being a merry conceited man, with a little leap lifted himſelf from the ground, ſaying, that *He felt himſelf much more light and quick, now he had freed himſelf of ſo great a burthen.* 1539.

Henry (in regard of his wiving diſpoſition) had long continued a Widower. And that he ſhould at length marry, the conſideration of his Eſtate being ſurrounded with Enemies paſſionate in the Pope's cauſe, perſwaded him: Wherein he alſo gave ear to *Cromwell*, who adviſed him to combine with thoſe Eſtates, whom the burthen of the Pope's tyranny had forced to the ſame courſes and like fears. By whoſe aſſiſtance he might countermine the ſecret practices of *Rome*. A counſel without doubt good and befitting the times, but producing the effects of Ill ones, proving (as is thought) Pernicious to the Giver. For the treatiſe of ſuch a Match, in *September* came into *England Frederick* Duke and Elector of *Saxony*, *Frederick* Duke of *Bavaria*, *Otho Henry* Count Palatine of *Rhine*, and the Chancellour of the Duke of *Cleve*, with ſome others, who were for eight days Royally entertained by the King at *Windſor*, where the Marriage with *Ann* Siſter to the Duke of *Cleve* being concluded, they returned to their own Countries.

The arrival of certain Princes of Germany *in* England, *for the treatiſe of a Match betwixt the King and Lady* Ann *of* Cleve.

This year died *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland*, Siſter to King *Henry*, who was buried at the *Charterhouſe* in the Town of St. *John*, near the Tomb of *James* the Firſt.

ANNO DOM. 1540. *REG.* 32.

ON the Eve of the *Circumciſion*, the Lady *Ann* of *Cleve* deſtinated to the King's Bed, arrived at *Dover*, was on the third of *January* triumphantly received at *Greenwich*, and on the Feaſt of the *Epiphany* ritely married to the King. 1540.

The King marrieth the Lady Ann *of* Cleve.

On the twelfth of *March Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex*, the antienteſt Earl of the Realm, thrown by an unruly young Horſe which he ſought to break, brake his neck: By whoſe death the Inheritance was devolved to his Daughter, and from her deceaſing without Iſſue, to the Family of *Deureux*, which Family in regard of their claim by deſcent, was by Queen *Elizabeth* advanced to the Earldom of *Eſſex*. But in the mean time *Cromwell* (yet chief in the King's favour) was on the eighteenth of *April* created Earl of *Eſſex*.

Cromwell *created Earl of* Eſſex, *and within three months after beheaded.*

And here behold the frailty of Human affairs. The current of few years had from very mean beginnings brought *Cromwell* to the height of Honour, inſomuch that his happineſs was admired by all, envied by many: But Fortune intending a Tragedy, he is unexpectedly apprehended ſitting at the Council-Table, and committed to the *Tower*, where he continued until his Execution. For in this Parliament begun the twelfth of *April*, he is accuſed of

1540. Treaſon and Hereſie, without being brought to his anſwer condemned, and on the twenty eighth of *July* beheaded. This King may well be cenſured of cruel inconſtancy, who could ſo eaſily diſpenſe with the death of thoſe whom he had admitted to intimate familiarity, and made uſe of their counſels and endeavours; as if he had advanced them to no other end, but to depreſs them. *Wolſey* had his turn, *Cromwell* ſucceeds, whoſe ſudden downfal there want not thoſe who attribute to God's Juſtice inflicted on him for the Sacriledge (whereof he was reported to be the Author) committed in the ſubverſion of ſo many Religious Houſes. And indeed even they who confeſs the rouzing of ſo many unprofitable Epicures out of their dens, and the aboliſhing of Superſtition, wherewith the Divine Worſhip had by them been polluted, to have been an act of ſingular Juſtice and Piety; do notwithſtanding complain of the loſs of ſo many ſtately Churches dedicated to God's ſervice, the goods whereof were no otherwiſe employed, than for the ſatisfaction of private mens covetouſneſs: and although many have abuſed the Vail of Religion, yet was that Monaſtical life inſtituted according to the pious example of antient Fathers, that they who found themſelves unfit for the execution of worldly affairs, (as many ſuch there are) might in ſuch their voluntary retirements ſpend their days in Divine Writings or Meditations: and are verily perſwaded, that for the taking away of theſe things, God was offended both with the King and *Cromwell*. But *Sleidan* peradventure comes nearer the matter, touching the immediate cauſe of his death.

Lady Ann *of* Cleve *repudiated.*

About this time (ſaith he) *the King of* England *beheadeth* Thomas Cromwell, *whom he had from fortunes anſwerable to his low parentage, raiſed to great Honours; repudiates the Lady* Ann *of* Cleve, *and marrieth* Catharine Howard *Daughter to the Lord* Edmond Howard, *who was Brother to the Duke of* Norfolk. Cromwell *had been procurer of the Match with* Ann. *But the King loving* Catharine, *is thought to have been perſwaded by her to make away* Cromwell, *whom ſhe ſuſpected to be a* Remora *to her advancement.* The actions of Kings are not to be ſifted too nearly, for which we are charitably to preſume they have reaſons, and thoſe inſcrutable.

But let us ſee the proceſs of this Divorce. Six months this conjugal band laſted firm without ſcruple, the King and Queen giving daily teſtimonies of their mutual love. On the twentieth of *June* the Queen is willed to remove from *London*, (where the King ſtayed by reaſon of the Parliament) to *Richmond*, a place pretended in regard of the ſituation and air, to be more for her health.

On the ſixth of *July* Reaſons are propoſed by certain Lords purpoſely ſent to the lower Houſe of Parliament, demonſtrating the invalidity of the King's Marriage with the Lady *Ann*, ſo that it was lawful for them both to marry where they pleaſed. The

ſame

1540.

ſame reaſons are alledged in the Convocation-Houſe, and generally approved. Whereupon the Queen alſo (whether forced or willing) conſenting, the Parliament pronounced the Marriage void.

What the allegations were is uncertain. Some relate diſability by reaſon of ſome defects to be objected to her, which ſeems the more probable, for that in her Letters wherein ſhe ſubmitted her ſelf to the judgment and determination of the Parliament, ſhe affirmed that the King never knew her carnally. Whether for this, or for that Nature having not over-liberally endowed her with Beauty; but a private woman ſhe became, and as ſuch (not enduring to return to her friends with diſhonour) ſhe lived upon ſome Lands aſſigned her by the King, (who always uſed her reſpectively) until the fifteenth of *July* Anno 1557, at what time ſhe ended her diſcontented life, and lieth buried at *Weſtminſter* on the South ſide of the Quire in a Tomb not yet finiſhed.

Scarce had the reſolution of the Convocation-Houſe, and the Decree concerning it paſſed both Houſes, when this luſty Widower with as good ſucceſs as before, marrieth his fifth Wife *Catharine Howard*. When their Nuptials were celebrated is not known, but on the eighth of *Auguſt* in Royal habiliments ſhe ſhewed her ſelf as Queen.

The King marrieth Catharine Howard.

The fautors of Reformation were much diſmayed at the ſudden unqueening of *Ann*; fearing (not without cauſe) leſt it proving occaſion of enmity between *Henry* and the Princes of *Germany*, he muſt of neceſſity rely on them who miſliked our divorce from *Rome*. But the King proceeding ſtill in the courſe he had begun, like a torrent bearing all before him, not only cauſed three Anabaptiſts to be burned, but alſo many ſincere Profeſſors of the Truth, for not ſubſcribing to the Six Articles. Among whom three Divines were moſt eminent, *viz.* *Robert Barnes* Doctor of Divinity, *Thomas Gerard*, and *William Jerome* Bachechelors, who by Parliament (unheard) being condemned for Hereſie, were on the one and thirtieth committed to the torments of the mercileſs fire. At the ſame time and place three other Doctors of Divinity, *viz.* *Powel*, *Able*, and *Fetherſton* were hanged for denying the King's Supremacy; the ſight whereof made a *French-man* cry out in theſe words, *Deus bone, quomodo hic vivunt gentes? ſuſpenduntur Papiſtæ, comburuntur Antipapiſtæ*; "Good "God, how do the people make a ſhift to live here, where both "Papiſts are hanged, and Antipapiſts burned? In *Auguſt* the Prior of *Dancaſter* and ſix other for defending the Inſtitution of the life Monaſtical (a crime now become as capital as the greateſt) being alſo condemned by Act of Parliament, were hanged.

Proteſtants and Papiſts alike perſecuted.

The Prior of Dancaſter *and ſix others hanged.*

The ſame day with the Lord *Cromwell*, the Lord *Hungerford* was alſo Beheaded. As their cauſes were divers, ſo died they

The Lord Hungerford *executed.*

1540. alike differently. *Cromwell*'s conſcience quietly welcomed death; to the other ſuffering for that moſt unnatural crime of Sodomy, death preſented it ſelf with that horror, that the apprehenſion of it made him as impatient, as if he had been ſeiſed with a frenzy.

ANNO DOM. 1541. *REG.* 33.

1541. THe late *Yorkſhire* Rebellion was not ſo throughly quenched, but it again began to ſhew it ſelf; but by the puniſhment of the chief Incendiaries it was quickly ſuppreſſed. Fourteen of the Conſpirators were put to death; *Leigh* a Gentleman, *Thornton* a Yeoman, and *Tatterſhall* a Clothier, at *London*; Sir *John Nevil* and ten others at *York*. Which Commotion whether raiſed in favour of Religion, or being ſuſpected that it had any abettors beyond the Seas, is thought to have haſtened the death of the long ſince condemned Counteſs of *Sarisbury*, who on the ſeven and twentieth of *May* was Beheaded in the *Tower*.

Beginnings of a commotion in Yorkſhire.

Lord Leonard Grey *beheaded.*

The eight and twentieth of *June* the Lord *Leonard Grey* Deputy of *Ireland*, did on the *Tower* Hill publickly undergo the like puniſhment. He was Son to the Marquis of *Dorſet*, near allied to the King, and a brave Martial man, having often done his Countrey good ſervice. But for that he had ſuffered his Nephew *Gerard Fitz-Gerard* (Brother to *Thomas* lately executed) proclaimed enemy to the Eſtate, to make an eſcape, and in revenge of ſome conceived private injury had invaded the Lands of the King's friends, he was arraigned and condemned, ending his life with a reſolution befitting a brave Souldier.

The Lord Dacres *hanged.*

The ſame day *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres* of the South, with ſome other Gentlemen, for the death of one *Busbrig* ſlain by them in a fray, was hanged at *Tyburn*. Many in regard of his youth and Noble Diſpoſition, much lamented his loſs, and the King's inexorable rigour.

ANNO DOM. 1542. *REG.* 34.

1542. BY this time *Henry* began to find the conveniency of his change, having married one as fruitful in *evil*, as his former Wives were in *good*; who could not contain her ſelf within the ſacred limits of a Royal marriage bed, but muſt be ſupplied with more vigorous and active bodies, than was that of the now growing aged and unwieldy King. Alas, what is this momentary pleaſure, that for it we dare hazard a treble life, of Fame, of Body, of Soul? Heaven may be merciful, but Fame will cenſure, and the enraged Lion is implacable: ſuch did this Queen find him, who procured not only her to be condemned by Act of Parliament begun

Queen Catharine *beheaded.*

begun the ſixteenth of *January*, and with her the Lady *Jane* Wife to the Viſcount *Rochfort*, (behold the thrift of the Divine Juſtice, which made her an Inſtrument of the puniſhment of her own and others wickedneſs, who by her calumnies had betrayed her own Husband and his Siſter the late beheaded Queen *Ann*) but two others alſo long ſince executed, *Francis Derham* and *Thomas Culpepper*, in their double condemnation ſcarce ſufficiently puniſhed. *Derham* had been too familiar with her in her virgin time, and having after attained to ſome publick Offices in *Ireland*, was by her now Queen ſent for and entertained as a houſhold Servant, in which time whether he revived his former familiarity is not manifeſt. But *Culpepper* was ſo plainly convict of many ſecret meetings with the Queen by the means of the Lady *Rochfort*, that the Adultery was queſtionleſs. For which the Queen and the Viſcounteſs *Rochfort* were both beheaded within the *Tower* on the twelfth of *February*. *Derham* had been hanged, and *Culpepper* beheaded at *Tyburn* the tenth of the preceding *December*. 1542.

Hitherto our Kings had ſtiled themſelves Lords of *Ireland*, a Title with that rebellious Nation not deemed ſo ſacred and dreadful; as to force obedience: The Eſtates therefore of *Ireland* aſſembled in Parliament Enacted him King of *Ireland*; according to which Decree he was on the three and twentieth of *January* publickly Proclaimed. Ireland *made a Kingdom.*

About the ſame time *Arthur* Viſcount *Liſle* natural Son of *Edward* the Fourth, out of a ſurfeit of ſudden Joy deceaſed. Two of his Servants had been executed the preceding year for having conſpired to betray *Calais* to the *French*, and the Viſcount as being conſcious committed to the *Tower*. But upon manifeſtation of his innocence, the King ſent unto him Sir *Thomas Wriothſley* Principal Secretary of Eſtate, by whom he ſignified the great content he received in the Viſcount's approved fidelity, the effects whereof he ſhould find in his preſent liberty, and that degree of favour that a faithful and beloved Uncle deſerved. The Viſcount receiving ſuch unexpected news imbelliſhed with rich promiſes and Royal tokens (the King having ſent him a Diamond of great value) of aſſured favour; being not ſufficiently capable of ſo great joy, free from all ſymptoms of any other diſeaſe, the enſuing night expired. After whoſe deceaſe Sir *John Dudley* was created Viſcount *Liſle*, claiming that Honour as hereditary in the right of his Mother the Lady *Elizabeth*, Siſter and Heir to the Lord *Edward Grey* Viſcount *Liſle*, Wife to the late deceaſed Lord *Arthur*, but formerly married to *Edmund Dudley* one of the Barons of the Exchequer, beheaded the firſt year of this King's reign. Which I the rather remember, for that this man afterwards memorable for his power and dignities, might have proved more happy in his Iſſue, than his greatneſs, had not his own ambition betrayed ſome

The Viſcount Liſle *deceaſed of a ſurfeit of Joy.*

Sir John Dudley *made Viſcount* Liſle.

1542. ſome of theſe fair ſprouts to the blaſt of unſeaſonable hopes, and nature denying any (at leaſt lawful) Iſſue to the reſt, the name and almoſt remembrance of this great Family hath ceaſed. Of which hereafter.

Scotland had been long peaceable, yet had it often adminiſtred motives of diſcontent and jealouſie. *James* the Fifth, King of *Scots*, Nephew to *Henry* by his Siſter, having long lived a Bachelor, *Henry* treated with him concerning a Marriage with his (then only) Child the Lady *Mary*, a Match which probably would have united theſe neighbour Kingdoms. But God had reſerved this Union for a more happy time.

War with Scotland. The antient League between *France* and *Scotland* had always made the *Scots* affected to the *French*, and *James* prefer the alliance with *France*, before that of *England*, where the Dowry was no leſs than the hopes of a Kingdom. So he marrieth with *Magdalen* a Daughter of *France*; who not long ſurviving, he again matcheth there with *Mary* of *Guiſe*, Widow to the Duke of *Longueville*. *Henry* had yet a deſire to ſee his Nephew, to which end he deſired an interview at *York* or ſome other oportune place. *James* would not condeſcend to this, who could notwithſtanding undertake a long and dangerous voyage into *France*, without invitation. Theſe were the firſt ſeeds of diſcord, which after bladed to the *Scots* deſtruction. There having been for two years neither certain Peace, nor a juſt War, yet incurſions from each ſide; Forces are aſſigned to the Duke of *Norfolk* to repreſs the inſolency of the *Scots*, and ſecure the Marches. The *Scot* upon news of our being in Arms, ſends to expoſtulate with the Duke of *Norfolk*, concerning the motives of this War, and withal diſpatcheth the Lord *Gordon* with ſome ſmall Forces to defend the Frontiers. The Herald is detained until our Army came to *Berwick*, that he might not give intelligence of our ſtrength: And in *October* the Duke entring *Scotland*, continued there ranſacking the Countrey without any oppoſition of the Enemy until the middle of *November*. By which time King *James* having levied a great Army, reſolved on a Battel, the Nobility perſwading the contrary, eſpecially unwilling that he ſhould any way hazard his Perſon, the loſs of his Father in the like manner being yet freſh in memory, and *Scotland* too ſenſible of the calamities that enſued it. The King proving obſtinate, they detain him by force, deſirous rather to hazard his diſpleaſure, than his life. This tenderneſs of him, in the language of rage and indignation he terms cowardiſe and treachery, threatning to ſet on the Enemy aſſiſted with his Family only.

The Lord *Maxwell* ſeeking to allay him, promiſed with ten thouſand only to invade *England*, and with far leſs than the *Engliſh* Forces to divert the War. The King ſeems to conſent: But offended with the reſt of the Nobility, he gives the Lord *Oliver*

Saint-

Saintclare a private Commiſſion not to be opened until they were ready to give the onſet, wherein he makes him General of the Army. Having in *England* diſcovered five hundred *Engliſh* Horſe led by Sir *Thomas Wharton* and Sir *William Muſgrave*, the Lord *Saintclare* commanded his Commiſſion publickly to be read, the recital whereof ſo diſtaſted the Lord *Maxwell* and the whole Army, that all things were in a confuſion, and they ready to disband. 1542

The Scots overthrown.

The opportunity of an adjoyning Hill gave us a full proſpect into their Army, and invited us to make uſe of our advantages: We charge them furiouſly, the *Scots* amazedly fly, many are ſlain, many taken, more plunged in the neighbouring Fens, and taken by *Scottiſh* Freebooters ſold to us. Among the Captives were the Earls of *Glencarn* and *Caſſels*, the Lords *Saintclare*, *Maxwell* Admiral of *Scotland*, *Fleming*, *Somerwell*, *Oliphant*, and *Gray*, beſides two hundred of the better ſort, and eight hundred common Souldiers. The conſideration of this overthrow occaſioned (as he conceived) by the froward raſhneſs of his own Subjects; and the death of an *Engliſh* Herald ſlain in *Scotland*, ſo ſurcharged him with rage and grief, that he fell ſick of a Fever, and died in the three and thirtieth year of his age, and two and thirtieth of his reign, leaving his Kingdom to the uſually unhappy government of a Woman, a Child ſcarce eight days old. The chief of the Captives being conveyed to the *Tower* were two days after brought before the King's Council, where the Lord Chancellour reprehended their treachery, who without due denuntiation of War, invaded and ſpoiled the Territories of their Allies, and committed many outrages, which might excuſe any ſevere courſes, which might in juſtice be taken with them: Yet his Majeſty out of his natural Clemency was pleaſed to deal with them beyond their deſerts, by freeing them from the irkſomneſs of a ſtrict impriſonment, and diſpoſing of them among the Nobles, to be by them entertained, until he ſhould otherwiſe determine of them.

The death of James *the Fifth, King of* Scotland.

By this time King *James* his death had poſſeſſed *Henry* with new hopes of uniting *Britain* under one Head. *England* had a Prince, and *Scotland* a Queen, but both ſo young that many accidents might diſſolve a contract before they came to ſufficiency. Yet this ſeeming a courſe intended by the Divine Providence to extirpate all cauſes of enmity and diſcord between theſe neighbouring Nations, a Marriage between theſe young Princes is propoſed. With what alacrity and applauſe the propoſition was on both ſides entertained, we may conceive, who have had the happineſs to ſee that effected, which they but intended. Which being a matter of ſo ſweet a conſequence, it is to be wondered at, that the conſpiracy of a few factious ſpirits ſhould ſo eaſily hinder it. The hope of it prevailed with the King for the liberty of the Captives, conditionally, that they ſhould leave Hoſtages for their return, if Peace were not ſhortly concluded; which,

Hopes of a Match between Prince Edward *and the Queen of* Scots.

as

1542. as alſo the furtherance of this ſo wiſhed conjunction, they faithfully promiſed.

ANNO DOM. 1543. *REG.* 35.

1543. AFter their ſhort Captivity, the *Scottiſh* Lords (having been detained only twelve days at *London*) on *New-years-day* began their journey towards *Scotland*, and with them *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, whom his Son-in-Law King *James* had a little before his death intended to recall. Fifteen years had he and his Brother *George* lived Exiles in *England*, *Henry* out of his Royal Bounty allowing to the Earl a Penſion of a thouſand Marks, and to his Brother of five hundred. The ſudden return of theſe captive Lords cauſed in moſt as ſudden a joy. Only the Cardinal of St. *Andrews* (who had by forgery made himſelf Regent) and his Faction could willingly have brooked their abſence. They came not as freed from a Captivity, but as Ambaſſadors for Peace by them earneſtly perſwaded, which by the happy conjunction of theſe Princes might be concluded to perpetuity. But the Cardinal with his factious Clergy, the Queen Dowager, and as many as were affected to the *Flower-de-lys* interpoſed themſelves for the good of *France*. Yet notwithſtanding the Cardinal's fraud being detected, he is not only depoſed from his Regency, and *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arren* ſubſtituted, but alſo committed to cuſtody, whence afterwards making an eſcape he was the author of more garboils. In the mean time the Marriage of the young Queen and other conditions propoſed to the Eſtate of *Scotland* by Sir *Ralph Sadler* the King's Ambaſſador, are fully aſſented unto, and Hoſtages promiſed for the performance of them. But the adverſe Faction became ſo prevalent, that the Hoſtages were not delivered at the day, neither did the Captive Nobility render themſelves in *England*. Only *Gilbert Kenneda* Earl of *Caſſels*, like another *Regulus*, had rather commit himſelf to the mercy of his enemies, than proſtitute his Honour to the foul taint of baſe infidelity. His Brethren had become Pledges for his return: the importunity, nay violence of his friends could not deter him from redeeming them. So to *London* he came, where the bountiful King duly honouring him for his conſtancy, inſtead of receiving a Ranſom gave him one, diſmiſſing him and his Brothers fraught with honour and rewards. The *Scots* falling off from their late Agreement, the King commandeth ſtay to be made of all their Ships, and confiſcateth their goods; ſends Letters full of threats and juſt complaints to the Eſtates at *Edenborough*, *Blaming them for arrogantly rejecting his Alliance; the want whereof muſt needs be prejudicial to them; neither had they only rejected it, but unmindful of former benefits had ſown ſeeds of new War, and forced him to Arms.*

But

The Scottiſh *Captives ſet liberty.*

The Earl of Angus *returneth into* Scotland.

The League and Match concluded.

The Scottiſh *ſhipping detained.*

1543.

War with Scotland.

But Letters proving ineffectual, *Scotland* is by the frontier Garriſons invaded in three ſeveral places, forty *Scots* making reſiſtance are ſlain, five and fifty Villages burned, five hundred and ſixty priſoners taken, and a booty brought into *England*, of three thouſand five hundred head of cattel, eight hundred Horſes, and ſeven thouſand Sheep, beſide great proviſion of houſholdſtuff.

War with France.

But this obſtinacy of the *Scots* proceeded not only from themſelves. *France* and *Scotland* were ever combined againſt *England*, ſo that to invade one, was to draw on a War with both. We had been often victorious in *France*, whereof many portions anciently belonged to Us: if we ſhould make any claim to all or part of our Inheritance, *Scotland* would ſerve either to diſtract our Forces, or to transfer the ſeat of War nearer home. The uniting of *England* and *Scotland* would by ſecuring us at home facilitate our Enterprizes upon *France*. Theſe were motives ſufficient for *Francis*, notwithſtanding the long inviolate amity between him and *Henry*, ſecretly to croſs our deſigns in *Scotland*. Whereof *Henry* could not long be ſenſible, and not revenge. Wherefore he proclaims open hoſtility with *France*, as he had already with *Scotland*, and reconciles himſelf with the Emperour (before thought irreconciliable in regard of his Aunts diſgrace) who profeſſed, that all cauſes of difference between them were buried with her: yet is it certain that unto the Pope he accuſed *Henry* to have diſpatched her by poiſon. But now they are become Confederates, and an aid of ten thouſand *Engliſh* ſent to joyn with the Imperials. *Landrecy* (a Town lately taken from the Emperour by the *French*) is the firſt exerciſe of our Arms. The Emperour alſo coming in Perſon, it is inveſted with forty thouſand men, is furiouſly battered, and the Souldiers brought to the diſtreſs of half a provant loaf of Bread a day, and to drink Water. *Francis* being certified of their wants aſſembles his Forces, draws near the Emperour feeding him with hope of a Battel, entertaining him with skirmiſhes relieves the beſieged, and without any more ado under the covert of the night retreats.

A League with Emperour.

Landrecy beſieged, but in vain.

The people licenſed to eat White Meats in Lent.

Let us now conclude the year at home. And to begin with the Church; In *February* the people by Proclamation is licenſed to eat White Meats in *Lent*, but under a great penalty enjoyned to abſtain from Fleſh.

The third of *June*, *Morogh O Brien* a Nobleman of *Ireland*, deſcended from the Kings of *Limrick* ſubmitted himſelf to the King, and was ſhortly after made Earl of *Twomond*, which Honour his poſterity at this day enjoyeth, having given ample proof of their Loyalty to ſucceeding Princes.

The King's ſixth Marriage.

The twelfth of *July* the King married his ſixth Wife the Lady *Catharin Parr*, Widow to the Lord *Latimer*, and Siſter of *William Parr* lately created Earl of *Eſſex* in the right of his Wife ſole Daughter and heir to the late Earl *Henry Bourchier*. At what

William Parr *Earl of* Eſſex.

1543. *Another of the ſame name made Lord* Parr.

time another of the ſame name, Uncle to the Queen and the Earl, was created Lord *Parr*, and Chamberlain to the Queen.

The eight and twentieth of *July* for the Profeſſion of their Faith were *Anthony Parſons*, *Robert Teſtwood*, and *Henry Filmer* Burned at *London*; *Marbeck* was alſo condemned, but afterward pardoned.

ANNO DOM. 1544. *REG.* 36.

1544. *The Lord Chancellour dieth.*

THe Lord *Thomas Audley* Chancellour of *England* deceaſing the laſt of *April*, the Lord *Wriothſley* chief Secretary of Eſtate is deſigned his Succeſſour. And the Earl of *Hertford* made Lieutenant of the North, is ſent thither with an Army to repreſs the incurſions of the *Scots*.

An Expedition into Scotland.

The Viſcount *Liſle* Admiral of *England*, with a Navy of two hundred Sail entred the *Forth* of *Scotland*, landed ten thouſand men, forced the rich Town of *Leith*, and then marched toward *Edenburg* the Metropolis of the Kingdom. The Regent was there with the Cardinal (at whoſe diſpoſe he now wholly was) and many other Nobles, guarded with ſix thouſand Horſe and a great number of Foot, who upon ſight of an invading Army betook themſelves to flight, and left the City void of defendants. The Provoſt craving parley, offered to yield the City upon condition of departure with Bag and Baggage, and ſaving the Town from Fire. But the breach of League, and inſolencies of the Inhabitants of *Leith* and *Edenburg* had inſpired us with Revenge, ſo that no Conditions were to be admitted, but what the Victor ſhould impoſe. This drives the Provoſt to a deſperate reſolution of defence. The *Engliſh* give a furious Aſſault, enter at the *Canigate*, put the Inhabitants to the ſword, pillage and fire it. The like calamity felt the Countrey round about, fire and ſword cruelly feeding upon Villages, Caſtles, and Noblemens Houſes. *Leith* had hitherto been reprieved from the like miſery; but at our return to the Navy, it is made its own Funeral pile, and the Peer of the Haven utterly conſumed.

New employments call home our Admiral. *Henry* reſolves once more to tranſport his Arms into *France*, there to join with the Earls of *Reux* and *Bures*, Imperial Commanders. It was agreed between the Emperour and the King, that the one ſhould invade *Champaigne*, the other *Picardy*, and having united their Forces (which ſhould amount to fourſcore thouſand Foot, and eighteen thouſand Horſe) to march directly to *Paris*, thereby either to force the *French* to fight with diſadvantage, or to ſuffer the ruin of his Countrey. *Henry* lands at *Calais*, and finds *Picardy* unfurniſhed of men, *Francis* having withdrawn his Forces towards *Champaigne* to oppoſe them againſt the Emperour. He therefore

1544.

therefore ſends the Duke of *Norfolk* with the Earls of *Reux* and *Bures* to beſiege *Montrueil*. The Marſhal of *Biez* ſeeing which way we turned the point of our Army, being commanded by his King to have an eſpecial care of that Territory, puts himſelf into *Montrueil*, and left the Lord of *Vervein* his Son-in-Law, a man of ſmall experience, to command in *Bouloign*. This opportunity invites *Henry* to encamp before *Boloign* a Town near to *Calais*, and many ways commodious. He cauſeth the Duke of *Norfolk* (now in danger to be ſurpriſed by the *French* Army) to ariſe from before *Montrueil*; and omitting his intended Voyage to *Paris* (fruſtrated by the Emperour's Peace with the *French*; to enter into which *Henry* was invited by the Cardinal *Bellay*, *Raymond* Preſident of *Rouen*, and *Aubeſpine* Secretary of Eſtate, ſent of purpoſe) he inveſteth *Boloign*. The Duke of *Suffolk* had firſt encamped upon a Hill on the Eaſt of *Boloign*, from whence he after made his approaches into the Valley: and the King encamping on the North, ſhut up the Town on all ſides. The firſt aſſault is given on the Suburbs or Baſe Town, which the *French* under the covert of a made ſmoak had forſaken. They pretend it to have been purpoſely fired as unprofitable, and the fire quenched by our induſtry. Next the Tower of the *Ordre* (called by us the *Old-man*) defended by twenty Souldiers is yielded, and the Town continually battered in four places, whereof the moſt forcible was the Battery from the Hill on the Eaſt ſide, which beat down the Steeple of our Ladies Church, rent the houſes, and ſcoured the ſtreets of the Town. The breach made by the Cannon being not ſufficient, they fall to mining, which happily ſucceeding, they blow up a great part of the Wall. We give a furious aſſault, and are repulſed with loſs, yet did this aſſault carry the Town, that brave Captain *Philip Corſe* being ſlain in it, whoſe valour alone had hitherto preſerved it. *Vervein* upon the loſs of this man, at his wits end, ſounds the intention of the King, and yields him the Town upon compoſition; *That the Souldiers and Citizens might depart with their Baggage; and that all the Artillery, Munition, and Victuals* (whereof there was great ſtore) *ſhould remain to the King.* The Inhabitants refuſe this bad compoſition, and the Mayor with the Townſmen offer to keep the Town: Which had they accordingly undertaken, *Boloign* in all probability had continued *French*. For the Capitulation was no ſooner concluded (Hoſtages not yet given) but a horrible Tempeſt of Wind and Rain overthrows our Tents, and the ſoil being fat and ſlippery, we ſhould not have had any means to mount to an aſſault. Moreover the Dauphin was on march with great Forces for their ſuccour, whoſe approach would have forced *Henry* to have changed his deſign. But *Vervein* profeſſing that he would keep touch even with his Enemy, continued conſtant in his promiſe, for which he ſoon loſt his Head on a Scaffold at *Paris*. The four and twentieth

1544. of *September*, the City was delivered to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the *French* departed to the number of threeſcore and ſeven Horſe, a thouſand five hundred threeſcore and three able Foot, and a thouſand nine hundred twenty and ſeven Women and Children, many of the infirmer ſort not able to depart, ſtaying behind. The next day the King entred triumphantly, and cauſed our Ladies Church to be demoliſhed, and in place thereof a Fortification to be raiſed, and having ordered his affairs to his mind, making the Viſcount *Liſle* Governour, ſet ſail for *Dover*, where he arrived on the firſt of *October*.

But the King's haſty departure permitted not all things to be ſufficiently ſetled. Part of the Artillery, Victuals and Munition by the Capitulation left in *Boloign*, were not removed from the Baſe Town, which was fortified only with ſome ſmall Trenches; for the ſurpriſal whereof, the Daulphin in the night ſends ſome Troops, who before morning enter the place, cut all in pieces they meet, win the Artillery and Munition, and think to have gotten an abſolute Victory: but being intent to pillage, ſome Enſigns iſſue from the higher Tower, find them in diſorder, ſet upon them and rout them. Many of the Enemies were ſlain, among whom was *Fouqueſſolles*, another Son-in-Law of *Biez*, the Victory not being without blood on our ſide.

Neither was our Fleet idle in the mean, which ſcouring the Seas brought three hundred Prizes ſo fraught with Merchandiſe, that the three ſpacious Churches of the *Auguſtine*, the *Gray*, and the *Black Friers* in *London*, whoſe Monaſteries had lately been ſuppreſſed, were ſtored with nothing but Hogſheads of Wine.

The Earl of *Lenox* lately diſpatched out of *France* for the managing of the affairs of *Scotland*, to the behoof of the *French* found not entertainment there according to his expectation. The Queen Mother and Cardinal, as long as they had need of him, deluded him with hopes of marrying the Queen Mother, and by their ſecret calumnies rendred them ſuſpected to the *French*. At length finding his ſafety queſtionable, he flies for refuge into *England*, accompanied with *Alexander* Son and Heir to the Earl of *Glencarn*, *Walter Graham* Brother to the Earl of *Montroſs*, and Sir *John Borthwick* with others, and were honourably received by *Henry*, who moſt happily repaired the Earl's loſſes of Revenues in *France* fallen by the death of *Robert Stuart* of *Aubigny*, and of his Marriage in *Scotland*, with that moſt ſucceſsful Match that beautiful Lady *Margaret*, Niece to the King and Daughter to the Earl of *Angus*, and an annual Penſion of ſeven hundred Marks. And once more he reſolved to try his fortune in *Scotland* attended by Sir *Rice Manſell*, and Sir *Peter Mewtas*, *Wintor*, *Audley*, and *Brooks* with others, who with eight Ships ſet ſail from *Briſtol*, and hanging over the Coaſt of *Scotland* like a Cloud uncertain where to

to disburthen it ſelf, deterred the *Scots* from enterpriſing any thing upon *England* in the abſence of the King. 1544.

The Church of late had daily felt ſome change or other: And this year in *June* the *Letany* ſet forth in *Engliſh* was commanded to be uſed in all Churches.

ANNO DOM. 1545. *REG.* 37.

OUr late Expeditions had without doubt been very chargeable. So that I ſhould not wonder that the King began to want ſupplies, if I did not conſider the incredible ſumms raiſed of the ſpoils of the late ſuppreſſed Religious Houſes. All which notwithſtanding, whether it were that God not pleaſed with this authorized Sacriledge did not enlarge them with his Bleſſing, *Which only* (ſaith *Solomon*) *maketh Rich*: Or that a great part thereof was otherwiſe divided either among his Courtiers, or for the maintenance of the ejected Religious Perſons, the Treaſury was certainly very bare. To which former reaſons we may add the ſix new erected Biſhopricks, and the like number of Cathedral Churches, as alſo the Stipends conferred on both Univerſities for the publick Profeſſors of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Tongues, Divinity, Law, and Phyſick, to each whereof he allotted an Annuity of forty Pounds. Howſoever it were, certain it is, that levies being made in *Germany* for the King, the Souldiers diſbanded for want of Pay. The Parliament had already granted him great Subſidies, ſo that thence he could expect no more. Yet Monies muſt be had. *Henry* therefore reſolves on an honeſt kind of Rapine. The Intreaties of Princes little differ from Commands, unleſs perhaps in this, that they work more ſubtilly, and render them pliable with whom Commands would not have prevailed; which manifeſtly appeared in the execution of this Project. He had twenty years ſince commanded Money by Proclamation, a courſe ſo far from taking as was deſired, that it had like to have been the cauſe of much miſchief: But now by ſome fit Commiſſioners informing his Subjects of his neceſſities, and deſiring the richer ſort one by one to contribute towards his ſupport, he quickly repleniſhed the Exchequer. The Commiſſioners begin firſt with the Citizens of *London*, among whom two were more ſtrait-laced than the reſt, *viz. Richard Read*, and *William Roch*; but their parſimony ſhall coſt them dear. For *Read* being an old man and utterly unexpert of Martial Diſcipline, is commanded to ſerve in perſon in the Wars of *Scotland*, is taken by the *Scots*, and forced to ranſom himſelf at a high rate. *Roch*, as having uſed ſome uncivil language before thoſe of his Majeſtie's Council who ſate Commiſſioners, was for ſome months puniſhed 1545.

Leather Money

1545. puniſhed with ſtraight impriſonment, and at length (not improbably) bought his liberty.

In the mean time *Boloign* was a great eye-ſore to the *French*. They try to regain it by ſtratagems and ſurpriſals, but in vain. They betake themſelves to force with the like ſucceſs. The Marſhal of *Biez* Governour of the *Boloignois* comes with a great Army to the *Port*, a Town two miles from *Boloign*, and begins to build a Fort on this ſide the River upon the point of the Tower of *Ordre*, but is by the Earl of *Hertford* forced away, and leaves his Caſtle in the Air. His intent was by this Fort to have kept the Garriſon of *Boloign* within their Walls, to have commanded the Haven, ſo to cut off all Succours by ſea, and from *Calais* by land. Which being done, *Francis* reſolved in Perſon to beſiege *Guiſnes*, and there to fortifie, thereby to famiſh *Boloign*, and to keep *Calais* and the land of *Oye* in ſubjection. But theſe deſigns proving fruitleſs, he prepares his Naval forces, giving forth, that he intended to invade *England*, hoping that this Alarm would have made us have a care of the main, and neglect thoſe pieces abroad, ſo that *Boloign* for lack of aid ſhould eaſily be reduced. The noiſe of an invaſion made *Henry* arm, who having gathered together a ſufficient Fleet, awaited the Enemy at *Portſmouth*, intent to all occaſions. Neither did the *French* only intend an Alarm, landing in three ſeveral places in *England*, but were every where with loſs driven aboard their Ships. Two days after they fall down to the Channel that divideth the Iſle of *Wight* from the reſt of *Britain*; they ſeem to threaten *Portſmouth*, where the King then was, and ſeek to draw our Fleet to fight. The *French*, beſide a ſufficient Fleet of other Ships had twenty five Gallies, no way probably uſeful in theſe tempeſtuous and rough Seas not brooking this flat kind of ſhipping, but by their bulk and number to terrifie us: Yet at this time an unuſual calmneſs of the Sea without wind or current, put them in hope of effecting wonders by their Gallies. But our Fleet was not to be drawn to fight, much leſs to be forced without apparent danger to the Enemy, who muſt ſlip down a narrow Channel, where but few Ships could go in front, and the like number oppoſed might eaſily defend it: Where they could not enter, but with the Tide and Wind, and the firſt Ships repulſed, in their falling back would have diſordered the reſt of the Fleet; where of neceſſity they muſt fight under the favour of our Forts and Cannon, which would eaſily have hindered their approach. The Enemy being put off here, conſult of fortifying the Iſle of *Wight*, where at St. *Helens* Point they land two thouſand men, reſolve forſooth to make that the Seat of the War, and there to build three Forts; but the valour of the Inhabitants made them change their deſign, and forced them again to their Ships. Thus every where affronted to their loſs, without any memorable act they ſet ſail for *Normandy*.

The

The *French* Fleet conſiſted of a hundred and three Sail of all ſorts, ours of only ſixty, ſo that it was no way ſafe for us to encounter them. Some light proffers were made on both ſides, wherein we always came off with the better. As for the *Mary Roſe*, a Ship which with her loſs buried Sir *George Carow* the Captain, and ſeven hundred men; the *French* do well to make uſe of caſualties to their own glory: But it was not the valour of the *French*, or fury of their Cannons that ſunk her, but the ſupine negligence of the Mariners, being wrecked in the very Haven, in the preſence of the King. 1545.

Boloign was not idle the while. Upon hope of a Fort to be built by the Marſhal of *Biez*, *Francis* had made great preparations for an Enterprize upon *Guiſnes*, but was diverted by the death of the Duke of *Orleans* his younger Son, and the loſt hopes of his intended Fort near *Boloigne*, and having for a while encamped at * *Mont-Lambert*, retired at laſt toward *Amiens*. The nearneſs of the King's Camp at *Mont-Lambert* did daily invite both Nations to make trial of their valour, the *Engliſh* ſometimes, ſometimes the *French* having the better. One day among the reſt the *Engliſh* hotly charging the *French*, the Duke of *Aumale* comes to relieve them, who being ſtrook with a Lance under his right Eye, it breaks in pieces and leaves the Trunchion half a foot within his Head. It was a token of an excellent ſpirit in this young Nobleman, that for ſo rough a charge he loſt not his ſtirrups; and endured the torture whereto they put him in drawing out the three ſquare head, with ſuch an invincible conſtancy, as if they had picked a Thorn from out his Finger, and beyond all expectation of the Chirurgions recovered. The Victory remained to the *Engliſh*: who could not long brag of it, afterward ſeeking to cut off a Convoy of the Enemies, defeated by the *Rhinegrave* with the loſs of ſixteen Captains, and ſeven or eight hundred men. The Earl of *Surrey*, who led them, ſaved himſelf by flight. And were it not diſcourteſie in us not to requite the late viſit of the *French*? The Lord Admiral therefore landed ſix thouſand men at *Treport* in *Normandy*, burned the Town and Abbey with thirty Ships and a Barque in the Haven, and returned with the loſs of only fourteen men.

* *Alias* Bonlamberg.

Neither were our employments leſs or fewer in *Scotland*, than among the *French*. *Scotland* had ſo many enemies at home, that it needed not any abroad. But their home-bred diſſentions had cauſed War from us, and the way to ſet them at Peace was, to invade them. In the beginning of *March* Sir *Ralph Evers*, by the death of his Father Lord *Evers*, with an Army entred *Scotland*, making all the Countrey deſert about *Jedbury* and *Kelſou*. Thence marching to *Coldingham* fortified the Church and Tower, and leaving a Garriſon there, departed. The Garriſon partly out of covetouſneſs, partly to diſtreſs the Enemy if he ſhould lay ſiege to

1545. to them, pillaged and waſted all the neighbouring Countrey. The Regent according to their expectation beſiegeth the Church with eight thouſand men, and batters it a whole day and a night. But ſuddenly, making none of the Nobles partakers of his determinations, whether out of fear to be betrayed by his Army, or ſome other cauſe, took horſe and poſted away to *Dunbar*, which occaſioned the disbanding of the Army, and the freedom of the beſieged. Our often ſucceſs having emboldened us, we adventure upon another impreſſion, the fury whereof disburdened it ſelf in *Merch*, *Teiſdale*, and *Lauden*, the Inhabitants being either forced to yield, or flie, and leave their goods to be ſeiled on by *Bellonas* Harbingers. The *Scots* at length make head, and although of more than equal number, they betake themſelves to ſtratagems. They underſtand by their Scouts of our approach; and to deceive us, by the advice of *Walter Scot* ſend their Horſes to the adjoyning Hills. Neither indeed was the place ſo advantageous for Horſe, as for Foot. The Horſes backed by the Grooms that kept them, did from the Hills make ſhew of an Army, and that flying. We advance, as loath to let our enemies eſcape, in the purſuit of whom we unawares fall among the whole Army not diſorderly flying, but prepared to receive us. It is not unuſual to encounter men; but if Heaven and the Elements oppoſe us, how can we hope for victory? We find the number of our adverſe Army great beyond our expectation, the Sun far declining to the Weſt darted his rays in our faces, and a violent wind drives the ſmoak of the ſhot into our mouthes, which not only made the moſt neceſſary ſenſe unuſeful, but with a foul ſtench corrupted the Air, and hindred the breathing of the already panting Souldiers. The many advantages give them the Victory. We leave two hundred in the place, and among them the Lord *Evers*; a thouſand are taken, whereof Alderman *Read* was one.

A little after this Victory, *Francis* ſent into *Scotland* a ſupply of five hundred *French* Horſe and three thouſand Footmen, under the command of the Lord of *Lorges* Earl of *Montgomery*, not ſo much to croſs our attempts againſt the *Scots*, as to diſtract our Forces, that the violence of them united might not at once fall on *France*.

This year among other accidents is alſo memorable through the death of the King's Brother-in-Law *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, a man of a mighty ſpirit, yet ſo tempering it with mildneſs and fair demeanour, that he was generally beloved both of Prince and people: Who in that height of favour carried him ſo evenly as to die quietly in his Bed. A happineſs under this Prince rare even to Fortunes and His Favourites.

A Parliament aſſembled in *November* granted the King the Diſpoſal of all Colledges, Chantries, and Hoſpitals, the demeſnes, ſalaries and ſtipends thereto belonging, or given to Prieſts to ſay Maſs for the Souls of the departed. The King perſonally

perſonally gave thanks to both Houſes, promiſing to have a care that they ſhould be employed to the honour of God and the publick good. But we find not the effect of his promiſes. 1545.

ANNO DOM. 1546. *REG.* 38, *& ultimo.*

VVE are now come to the laſt year of *Henry* his Reign; who having tired himſelf with the *French* Wars, began at length ſeriouſly to bethink himſelf of Peace. Neither was *Francis* leſs deſirous of his Friendſhip. To this end Deputies from both ſides meet often between *Guiſnes* and *Ardres:* For *Henry*, the Earl of *Hertford*, *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Viſcount *Liſle* Lord Admiral, Sir *William Paget* Secretary of Eſtate, and Dr. *Wotton* the firſt Dean of *Canterbury:* For *Francis*, the Admiral *Annebault*, *Raymond* firſt Preſident of *Ronan*, and *Boucherel* Secretary. After many conſultations a Peace was concluded on theſe Conditions: 1546.

That Francis *within eight years ſhould pay fourſcore hundred thouſand Crowns to the King, as well for the arrerage of his Penſion, as for many other expences made by him in War, in the fortification of* Boloign *and of the Countrey: And upon receipt of the ſaid Summ,* Henry *ſhould deliver unto the King of* France Boloign *and all the Countrey belonging to it, with the ancient places or newly edified by him,* Mont-Lambert, *the Tower of* Ordre, Ambleteul *and others, with all the Artillery and Munition in them.*

For the confirmation whereof, the Viſcount *Liſle* was ſent Ambaſſador into *France*, and from thence came the Admiral *Annebault* to receive the Oaths of each King, and the Peace was Proclaimed in *London.*

On the ſixteenth of *July* were burnt at *London* for their Religion *John Laſſels*, *Nicholas Otterden*, *John Adlam*, and *Ann Askew* a young Gentlewoman aged twenty five, of an ancient Deſcent, excellent beauty, and acute wit, whoſe examinations, writings, tortures, and patient ſuffering are at large ſet down by Mr. *Fox*, being before their Execution by Dr. *Schaxton* exhorted to Recant, as he then was forced, who ſome years paſſed had reſigned his Biſhoprick to enjoy his Conſcience.

And here I may not omit an addition to the ſeptenary number of Sleepers, *William Foxley* a Pot-maker in *London*, who without any touch of any preceding infirmity was ſeiſed with ſuch a dead ſleep, that for fourteen days and fifteen nights no force nor invention could awake him; on the fifteenth day this miraculous ſleep forſaking him, he was as it were reſtored to life, and found as ſound and entire as if he had taken no more than an ordinary repoſe: Neither would he believe that he had taken other, but that the building of a certain Wall made it apparent to him how

1546. much time he had ſlept away. He lived above forty years after, *viz.* to the year 1587.

Let us conclude this year with the death of *Martin Luther* that famous impugner of the Church of *Rome*, who being ſent for by the Counts of *Mansfield* to compoſe ſome differences between them concerning their inheritance, died among them in his Climacterical year, and after much contention for his Body, lieth buried at *Wirtenberg*.

ANNO DOM. 1547.

1547. *Henry* long ſince grown corpulent was become a burthen to himſelf, and of late lame by reaſon of a violent Ulcer in his Leg, the inflammation whereof caſt him into a lingering Fever, which by little and little decaying his ſpirits, he at length began to feel the inevitable neceſſity of death. The cogitation of many things (as in the like exigents uſually happeneth) oppreſſed him, and chiefly of his Son's nonage, but now entring into his tenth year, an age infirm and opportune to treacheries, againſt which he found ſmall proviſion in his Friends, having none amongſt thoſe on whoſe Loyalty he chiefly relied, of ſo ſufficient eminency, as to underprop his weak Eſtate with thoſe ſupporters of Royalty, *Power* and *Authority*. His Brother-in-Law the Duke of *Suffolk* was lately deceaſed: *Seymour* the young Prince's Uncle was a man whoſe Goodneſs was not tempered with Severity, and being deſcended of a Family more ancient than noble (as having until now never tranſcended Knighthood) would be ſubject to contempt. They who more nearly participated of the Blood Royal, as they any way excelled in Power or Virtue, were the more ſuſpected and hated by him. The Family of the *Howards* was then moſt flouriſhing, the chief whereof was *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, a man famous for his exploits in *France*, *Scotland*, and elſewhere, long exerciſed in the School of Experience, many ways deriving himſelf from the Crown, popular, of great command and revenues. But the edge of the old man's diſpoſition made mild and blunted with age, adminiſtred the leſs cauſe of ſuſpition. Of his eldeſt Son *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, the King was certainly jealous, and reſolved to cut him off. He had lately in the Wars of *France* manifeſted himſelf heir to the glory of his Anceſtors, was of a ripe wit, and endued with great Learning, ſo that the Elogy afterwards given to his Son *Henry*, that *He was the Learneſt among the Nobility, and the Nobleſt among the Learned*, might have as fitly been applied to him, was very gracious with the people, expert in the Art Military, and eſteemed fit for publick Government. Theſe great Virtues were too great Faults, and for them he muſt ſuffer. Treaſon is objected to him, and

and upon the ſurmiſe he and his Father ſent to the *Tower*. On the thirteenth of *January* he is arraigned, the chief point of his accuſation whereon they inſiſted being, for bearing certain Arms, which only belonged to the King, and conſequently aſpiring to the Crown. Of other things he eaſily acquitted himſelf, and as for thoſe Arms, he conſtantly affirmed that they hereditarily pertained unto him; yet notwithſtanding he would not have preſumed to have born them, but being warranted by the opinion of the Heralds, who only were to give judgment in theſe caſes. The Judges not approving of his anſwer condemn him, and ſo the Flower of the *Engliſh* Nobility is on the nineteenth of *January* beheaded, the King lying in extremity, and breathing his laſt in Blood. The Duke was adjudged to perpetual impriſonment, where he continued until he was by Queen *Mary* ſet at liberty. 1547.

The King, his diſeaſe growing on him, at laſt makes his Will, wherein (by virtue of a Law lately Enacted) he ordains Prince *Edward* his Succeſſour in the firſt place, and in the ſecond (Prince *Edward* dying Iſſueleſs) ſubſtitutes the Lady *Mary* begotten of *Catharine* of *Arragon*, and upon the like defect of Iſſue in *Mary* in the third place ſubſtitutes the Lady *Elizabeth*. Theſe three reigned ſucceſſively, and accompliſhed the number of fifty ſix years; at the expiration whereof Queen *Elizabeth* ended her long glorious Reign, and left the Diadem to King *James*, in the many regards of his Learning, Religion, Goodneſs, peaceable and happy Reign the Mirrour of late Ages. The next care was of his Executors, whom he alſo appointed (Tutors ſhall I ſay or) Counſellors to his Son, and were in number ſixteen, *viz.*

Thomas *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.
Thomas Wriothſley *Lord Chancellour.*
William Paulet *Lord* Saint-John.
John Ruſſel *Lord Privy Seal.*
Edward Seymour *Earl of* Hertford.
John Dudley, *Viſcount* Liſle *Lord Admiral.*
Cuthbert Tonſtall *Biſhop of* Dureſm.
Sir Anthony Brown *Maſter of the Horſe.*
Sir Edward Mountague *Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas.*
Sir William Paget.
Sir William Harbert.
Sir Thomas Bromley.
Sir Anthony Denny.
Sir Edward North.
Sir Edward Wotton.
Doctor Wotton *Dean of* Canterbury *and* York.

1547. To whom he added as Aſſiſtants, eſpecially in matters of great conſequence:

Henry *Earl of* Arundel.
William *Earl of* Eſſex.
Sir Thomas Cheny *Steward of the King's Houſhold.*
Sir John Gage *Comptroller.*
Sir Anthony Wingfield *Vice-Chamberlain.*
Sir William Peter *Secretary.*
Sir Richard Rich.
Sir John Baker.
Sir Ralph Sadler.
Sir Thomas Seymour.
Sir Richard Southwell.
Sir Edmond Pecham.

He ordained his Body ſhould be interred at *Windſor* in a Monument (yet imperfect) erected by Cardinal *Wolſey*, not for himſelf (as many falſly ſurmiſe) but for the King, as by the Inſcription is manifeſt, which cannot be of later date. For therein *Henry* is ſtiled Lord of *Ireland* without any mention of Supreme Head of the Church, which two particles it is manifeſt were changed in the Title after *Wolſey* his death. In the ſame his laſt Will he commanded that the Monuments of *Henry* the Sixth, and *Edward* the Fourth (both interred in *Windſor*) ſhould be made more magnificent and ſtately, and other things of leſs moment, moſt of which were neglected. This laſt Will and Teſtament he confirmed, ſubſcribed, and ſealed the laſt of *December*, and ſurvived a month after, dying at *Weſtminſter* the eight and twentieth of *January*, and that in this manner: The King having long languiſhed, the Phyſicians finding apparent ſymptoms of approaching death, wiſhed ſome of his friends to admoniſh him of his eſtate, which at laſt Sir *Anthony Denny* undertook, who going directly to the fainting King, told in few (but thoſe plain) words, That the hope of humane help was vain, wherefore he beſeeched his Majeſty to erect his thoughts to Heaven, and bethinking him of his 'fore-paſſed life, through Chriſt to implore God's Mercy. An advice not very acceptable to him. But finding it grounded upon the judgment of the Phyſicians, he ſubmitted himſelf to the hard law of neceſſity, and reflecting upon the courſe of his Life (which he much condemned) he profeſſed himſelf confident, that through Chriſt his infinite Goodneſs all his ſins, although they had been more in number and weight, might be pardoned. Being then demanded whether he deſired to confer with any Divines; *With no other* (ſaith he) *but the Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *and not with him as yet; I will firſt repoſe my ſelf a little, and as I then find my ſelf will determin accordingly.*

After

1547.

After the ſleep of an hour or two finding himſelf fainting, he commanded the Archbiſhop (then at *Croydon*) ſhould be ſent for in all haſt. Who uſing all poſſible ſpeed came not until the King was ſpeechleſs. As ſoon as he came, the King took him by the hand, the Archbiſhop exhorting him to place all his hope in God's Mercies through Chriſt, and beſeeching him, that if he could not in words, he would by ſome ſign or other teſtifie this his Hope: Who then wringed the Archbiſhop's hand as hard as he could, and ſhortly after expired, having lived fifty five years and ſeven months, and thereof reigned thirty ſeven years nine months and ſix days.

Thus ended *Henry* the Eighth his Life and Reign, which for the firſt years of his Government was like *Nero*'s Five years, Admirable; for often Victories and happy Succeſs in War, Glorious; for the many Changes under it, Memorable; for the Foundation of the Churches Reformation, Laudable; to Queens, moſt unhappy; for the Death of ſo many (for the moſt) great Perſonages, Bloody; and for the frequent Exactions and Subſidies, and Sacrilegious Spoil of the Church, much Prejudicial to the Eſtate, Grievous and Burthenſom to the Subject.

FINIS.

ANNALS OF ENGLAND.

EDVVARD THE SIXTH.

The Second Book.

LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Baſſet*, *John Wright*, and *Richard Chiſwel.*

M. DC. LXXV.

ANNALS
OF
ENGLAND.
EDWARD
THE
SIXTH.

The Second Part.

ANNALS OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

EDWARD the Sixth.

ANNO DOM. 1547. *REG.* 1.

ROyalty like a *Pythagorean* Soul tranſmigrates. Although *Henry* were dead, the King was ſtill alive, and ſurvived in the perſon of young *Edward*, who began his Reign the eight and twentieth of *January*, then in the tenth year of his age; and having been on the laſt of the ſame Month proclaimed King, came the ſame day from *Enfield* (where the Court had then been) to the *Tower*, there according to the ancient cuſtom of our Kings to abide until his Inauguration at *Weſtminſter*. The next day the Council aſſembled for the managing of the Eſtate, conferred on the King's Uncle, *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford* the honour and power of Protector of the King's Perſon and Kingdom. Who to ſeaſon his new Dignity with ſome memorable act, on the ſixth of *February*, dubbed the King Knight, the King preſently imparting the ſame Honour to *Richard Hoblethorn* Lord Mayor of *London*. 1547.

The Earl of Hertford *Protector.*

On the fifteenth of *February* King *Henry* his Funerals were ſolemnized, and his Body Royally interred in the middle of the Quire in the Church at *Windſor*. *King* Henry's *Funerals.*

Two days after were ſome of the Nobility dignified with greater Honours, ſome new created. The Lord Protector Earl of *Hertford*, was made Duke of *Somerſet*; *William Parr* Earl

1547. of *Eſſex*, Marquis of *Northampton*; *John Dudley* Viſcount *Liſle*, Earl of *Warwick*; and the Lord Chancellour *Wriothſley*, Earl of *Southampton*. Sir *Thomas Seymour* Brother to the Protector and Lord Admiral, Sir *Thomas Rich*, Sir *William Willoughby*, and Sir *Edmond Sheffeild* were inrolled among the Barons. Other two days being fled after their predeceſſors, the King paſſed triumphantly from the *Tower* through *London* to *Weſtminſter*, where he was ſolemnly crowned, anointed, and inaugurated by *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. At what time alſo with incredible indulgence pardon of all crimes whatſoever was publickly proclaimed and granted to all perſons throughout the Realm, ſix only being exempted from the benefit thereof, namely, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, the lately beheaded Marquis of *Exceter* his eldeſt Son, one *Throcmorton*, *Forteſcue*, and *Richard Pate* late Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who left he ſhould be conſtrained to acknowledge the King Head of the Church, had ſome years paſſed fled to *Rome*.

The Coronation.

On the nineteenth of *June* in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London* were celebrated the Exequies of *Francis* King of *France*. He deceaſed the two and twentieth of the precedent *March*, having been after the death of our *Henry* much diſpoſed to melancholy, whether for that he failed in the hope of ſtrengthening their late contracted amity with ſome ſtricter tie; or that being ſome few years the younger, he was by his death admoniſhed of the like approaching fate. They were alſo of ſo conſpiring a ſimilitude of diſpoſition and nature, that you ſhall hardly find the like between any two Princes of whatever different times. This bred a mutual affection in them, and as it were forcibly nouriſhed the ſecret fire thereof between them, unleſs peradventure when emulation or the reſpect of publick utility ſwayed them the contrary way, ſo that the death of the one could not but much grieve the ſurviver. He therefore in the Cathedral at *Paris* celebrated the Funerals of *Henry*, though Excommunicated by the Pope. He alſo left one only Son named *Henry* inheritor of his Crown, whoſe Reign laſted but to the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*.

The death of Francis King of France.

And now the affairs of *Scotland*, which have without doubt been great and memorable, crave a part in our Hiſtory. We have before made mention of our League with *Scotland*, wherein it was determined concerning the Marriage between the now King *Edward* and the Queen of *Scots*. The times ſince then were full of continual jarrs. We at length reſolved not to dally with them, but to undertake the War with forces agreeable to the cauſe. The Duke of *Somerſet* by conſent of the Privy Council is ſent into *Scotland* with ten thouſand Foot and ſix thouſand Horſe (beſides Pioners and Artificers thirteen hundred) and and fifteen pieces of Braſs Ordnance. To the Lord *Clinton* is aſſigned

1547.

aſſigned a Navy conſiſting of four and twenty men of War, one Galley, and thirty Ships of burthen, wherewith he was to ſcour the Seas, and infeſt the maritim parts of *Scotland*. On the third of *September* the Duke of *Somerſet* made an hoſtile entrance upon the Enemies Countrey, and forthwith diſpatched Letters to the Earl of *Arren*, Regent of *Scotland*, much to this effect: *That he wiſhed the* Scots *would conſider, that this War was waged among Chriſtians, and that our ends were no other than a juſt Peace, whereto the endeavours of all good men ſhould tend. An occaſion not only of a League, but of a perpetual Peace was now happily offered, if they would ſuffer the two differing and emulous Nations by uniting the Heads to grow together. This as it had been formerly ſought by us, ſo had it been generally aſſented to by the Eſtates of* Scotland. *Therefore he could not but wonder why they ſhould rather treacherouſly recurr to Arms (the events of War being uſually even to the Victor ſufficiently unfortunate) than maintain inviolate their troth plighted to the good of both Nations. They could not in reaſon expect that their Queen ſhould perpetually live a Virgin-life. And if ſhe married, where could ſhe beſtow her ſelf bettter, than on a puiſſant Monarch inhabiting the ſame Iſland, and parlying the ſame language? They ſaw what inconveniencies were the conſequents of forein Matches, whereof they ſhould rather make tryal by the examples of others, than at their own peril. He demanded nothing but equity; yet he ſo much abhorred the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, that if he found the* Scots *not utterly averſe from an accord, he would endeavour that ſome of the Conventions ſhould be remitted: He would alſo permit that the Queen ſhould abide and be brought up among them until her age made her marriageable, at what time ſhe ſhould by conſent of the Eſtates her ſelf make choice of a Huſband. In the mean time there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms, neither ſhould the Queen be tranſported out of her Realm, nor entertain treatiſe of Marriage with the* French *or any other foreiner. This if they would faithfully promiſe, he would forthwith peaceably depart out of* Scotland; *and whatſoever damages the Countrey had ſuffered by this invaſion, he would according to the eſteem of indifferent Arbitrators make ample ſatisfaction.* The *Scottiſh* Army conſiſted of thirty thouſand Foot, ſome ſpeak a greater number. The chief Commanders whereof puffed up with confidence of their ſtrength (although they had lately loſt eight hundred in a tumultuary skirmiſh) and miſconceiving our offers to proceed out of fear, reject all Conditions of Accord: And leſt upon knowledge of the equity of our demands, the Council ſhould incline to reſolutions of Peace, they conceal our Letters. And not only ſo, but upon aſſurance of Victory ſpread a rumour, that nothing would content the inſolent *Engliſh*, but the delivery of the Queen, which if they could not otherwiſe, they would by force obtain, and proceed to the abſolute conqueſt of the Kingdom. This report enraged the Souldiers, whom no motives could diſſwade from

1547. preſent engaging themſelves in Battel. The wiſer ſort were not ignorant of the neceſſities that long ſince began to preſs us, who were brought to that paſs, that by reaſon of the difficulties of paſſages we could not make a ſafe retreat, nor force the Enemy to fight in regard of the ſtrength of the place where he was encamped. But the vain hope of Victory had poſſeſſed the minds of the greater part, and excluded reaſon. Neceſſity forced us to a reſolution brave and expedient, which was, to ſeek the Enemy in his lodging, and endeavour to draw him to combat. But the hot-ſpur *Scots* iſſuing from out their faſtneſſes, ſeemed willing to prevent us. So both Armies entertain a mutual reſolution. A little before the joyning of the Armies an accident happened, which did not a little make way to our Victory. The Enemy marching along near the Sea-ſhoar, a piece of Ordnance diſcharged from our Galley took away five and twenty of their men, whereof the eldeſt Son of the Lord *Grimes* was one. Four thouſand Archers terrified with ſo unexpected a ſlaughter made a ſtand, and could never after be brought on. The two Armies approaching each other, the Duke of *Somerſet* commanded the Lord *Gray* with the Cavallery to charge the *Scots*, and find them employment until the Infantry had ſeized on an adjoyning Hill, and if he could without much hazard, to diſorder the Enemy. But they were gallantly received by a ſtrong Squadron of Pikes, whereon ſome of the formoſt having too far engaged themſelves were caſt away, the reſt retreated affirming, that it was as eaſie to force a Wall, as through the *Scottiſh* Ranks. The Duke makes a ſecond trial by the light Horſe, ſeconding them with the Ordnance and the Archers. The Enemy either not able to ſtand ſo violent a charge, or (as ſome relate) to draw us from the favour of our Cannon, begins to give ground, which we perceiving give a ſhout, crying out withal, *They fly, they fly*; which ſo amazed them, that ſome began to fly indeed, and at length the whole Army was routed. The *Scots* complain, that we tyrannized over the Captives, eſpecially the Prieſts and Friers (whereof many ſerved in this Field) becauſe by their inſtigation chiefly our Conditions were ſo arrogantly rejected. Of the Enemies were ſlain thirteen thouſand, and among them (beſide the Earl of *Lohemor* and the Lord *Fleming*) the chief of the *Scottiſh* Gentry, with their Tenants, who thought it a diſgrace to ſurvive their Lords. In the chaſe were taken fifteen hundred, among whom were the Earl *Huntley* Chancellour of *Scotland*, the Lords *Heſter*, *Hobbey*, and *Hamilton*, beſide many other perſons of Quality. This lamentable overthrow was given the tenth of *September*.

Muſſelburgh-*Field.*

The *Engliſh* become Victors beyond their expectation, ranſacked the Countrey five miles about, fortified in the Forth the forſaken Iſlands *Keth* and *Haymon*, took *Broch* Caſtle, by their terrour forced

forced the Garriſons of *Humes* and *Faſtcaſtle* to yield, and having built a Fort at *Lauder*, and repaired the ruines of *Roxburgh*, by their departure recreated the dejected minds of the diſtreſſed *Scots*. 1547.

Reformation in the Church.

Our affairs thus ſucceeding abroad, the Church at home had her changes. Many of the Council, but eſpecially the Protector, much endeavoured Reformation in point of Religion. The reſt, who were addicted to the Doctrine of *Rome*, could for private reſpects temporize, fearing indeed reſtitution of Church goods (wherein each of them ſhared) unleſs an irreconcilable breach were made with that See. So that whiles ſome eagerly oppoſe Popery, and others coldly defend it, not only what had been enacted by *Henry* the Eighth concerning the abrogation of the Pope's authority is confirmed, but many other things are added, whereby our Church was ſo purged from the dregs of Superſtition, that for Purity of Doctrine, and Inſtitution of ſelect Eccleſiaſtical Rites, it excelled the moſt Reformed Churches of *Germany*. All Images are pulled down, Prieſts are permitted to marry, the *Liturgie* ſet forth in the *Engliſh* tongue, the *Euchariſt* adminiſtred under both kinds, *Auricular Confeſſion* forbidden, no man prohibited the reading of the Scriptures, no *Maſſes* to be ſaid for the Souls of the departed, and many other things ordained, ſo far differing from the Inſtitution of our Forefathers, that it adminiſtred matter to the common people (who are wont to judge not according to *Reaſon*, but *Cuſtom*) of breaking out into Rebellion. And it is ſomewhat remarkable, that the ſame day wherein the Images, whereof the Churches were diſpoſſeſſed, were publickly burned at *London*, we obtained that memorable Victory over the *Scots* at *Muſſelburgh*.

This year at Archbiſhop *Cranmer* his invitation came into *England Peter Martyr* a *Florentine*, *Martin Bucer* of *Seleſtadt*, and *Paulus Phagius* born in the *Palatinate*: Who being very courteouſly received by the King and Nobles, having repoſed themſelves ſome while at *Canterbury*, were ſent, *Martyr* to *Oxford*, *Bucer* and *Phagius* to *Cambridge*, there publickly to Read *Divinity*; but *Phagius* having ſcarce ſaluted the Univerſity, deceaſed of a Quartan Ague the twelfth of *November*, in the five and fortieth year of his age. Neither did *Bucer* long ſurvive him, who died at *Cambridge* the laſt of *February* 1551, being then threeſcore years old. *Martyr* ſhortly after his coming to *Oxford*, maintained publickly in the Schools, and that with ſolid Arguments, againſt *Treſham* and *Chedſey* Opponents, that the Popiſh *Tranſubſtantiation* was but a meer fiction; which Diſputation he after publiſhed and enlarged.

ANNO

ANNO DOM. 1548. *REG.* 2.

1548. THe *Engliſh* having this year fortified and put a ſtrong Garriſon into *Hadinton* a Town ſeated in the moſt fertil ſoil of all *Scotland*, did from thence and *Lauder* make often inroads upon the bordering Countrey, burning and ſpoiling whatſoever might be uſeful to the Enemy, from whom they expected a Siege. In the mean time had the *French* ſent ſix thouſand (ten thouſand ſay we) men into *Scotland*, whereof three thouſand were Lanſquenets led by the *Rhinegrave*. The Lord of *Eſſé* a man of tried valour, famous in the Siege of *Landrecy* and other Expeditions was chief of the Army. Theſe adventurers landing at *Dunbar*, march ſpeedily for *Hadinton*, and joyning with the *Scottiſh* Forces conſiſting of eight thouſand men ſtraightly beſiege it. At the Abbey near the Town they call a Council, treat of tranſporting the Queen into *France*, and marrying her to the Daulphin. They whom the reſpect of private ends had not corrupted and withdrawn from the care of the publick weal, objected, *That they ſhould ſo draw on them a perpetual War from* England, *and betray themſelves to the ſlavery of the* French: *That the Propoſitions made by the* Engliſh *were reaſonable, who offered a ten years Truce, and ſought not to entrap the* Scot *in any bands or prejudicial compacts, their demands being no other than this, That if within the ten years either the King of* England, *or the Queen of* Scots *ſhould deceaſe, all things ſhould on each ſide remain entire and in their former eſtate: Delay had often in the like caſes proved advantageous, whereas ſpeedy repentance commonly followeth precipitated haſt.* The Popiſh Faction (eſpecially the Clergy, to whom the amity of *England* was little pleaſing, in regard of the differences in Religion) and ſome others obliged to the *French* either in reſpect of received benefits or future profit, with might and main interpoſed to the contrary, and chiefly the Regent, bought with a Penſion of four thouſand Crowns, and the Command of one hundred Lances. The *French* Faction prevailed for her tranſportation. The Fleet from *Leith*, where it harboured, ſetting ſail as if for *France*, fetching a compaſs round about *Scotland*, put in at *Dunbritton*, where they embarqued the ſix-year-old Queen, attended by *James* her baſe Brother, *John Areskin*, and *William Leviſton*, who being put back by contrary winds, and much diſtreſſed by tempeſt, arrived at length in Little *Bretaigne*, and from thence ſet forward to the Court of *France*, ſo eſcaping our Fleet which hovered about *Calais* to intercept them, if (as we were perſwaded they needs muſt) they croſſed thoſe neighbouring Straights. *Hadinton* in the mean time being ſtraightly beleaguered, Sir *Robert Bowes* and Sir *Thomas Palmer* are with ſeven hundred Lances and ſix hundred light Horſe ſent to relieve it. *Buchanan* ſaith there were but three hundred Horſe,

The Scots *and* French *beſiege* Hadinton.

The Queen of Scots *tranſported into* France.

Horſe, the reſt Foot. Of what ſort ſoever they were, it is certain that before they could reach *Hadington*, they were circumvented and ſlain almoſt to a man. Yet did not the beſieged let fall their courages, but bravely defended themſelves, until *Francis* Earl of *Shrewsbury* with an Army of twelve thouſand *Engliſh* and four thouſand Lanſquenets diſaſſieged them, and forced the *French* to retreat. The Earl having ſupplied the Town with neceſſaries, and reinforced the Garriſon, returned to *Berwick*. What they could not by force, the Enemy hopes more eaſily to effect by a ſurpriſal. To this end *D'Eſſé* with ſome ſelect Bands arrives at *Hadinton* about the break of day, where having killed the Centinels and taken an Half-moon before the Port, ſome ſeek to force the Gates, ſome invade our adjoyning Granaries. The noiſe and ſhouts of the aſſailants gives an alarm to the Garriſon, who give fire to a Cannon planted before the Port, the Bullet whereof penetrating the Gate, makes way through the cloſe ranks of the Enemies, and ſo affrights them, that they ſeek to ſave themſelves by flight. 1548.

Fortune was not ſo favourable to the Garriſons of *Humes* and *Faſtcaſtle*, where by the negligence of the Centinels, the deſigns of the Enemy were crowned with ſucceſs. At *Humes*, being conducted by ſome that knew all the ſecret paſſages, they climb up a ſteep Rock, enter, maſſacre the ſecure Garriſon, and enjoy the place. At *Faſtcaſtle* the Governour had commanded the neighbouring Husbandmen at a prefixed day to bring in their contribution of Corn and other neceſſary proviſion. The Enemy makes uſe of this opportunity. Souldiers habited like Peſants at the day come fraught with their burthens, whereof eaſing their Horſes, they carry them on their ſhoulders over the Bridge, which joyned two Rocks together, and ſo gain entrance: The watch-word being given, they caſt down their burthens, kill the Centinels, open the Gates to their fellows, and become maſters of the place. Neither were our Naval enterpriſes fortunate, being at St. *Minian* and *Merne* repelled with loſs. Humes *Caſtle* and Faſtcaſtle *gained by the Enemy.*

In Autumn the Earl of *Rutland* with three thouſand Lanſquenets and ſome Bands drawn out of the frontier Garriſons arrives at *Hadington*: Who duly conſidering that this Town could not be kept any longer without the exceſſive charges of a juſt Army, foraſmuch as the Countrey about being miſerably forraged, it could not be victualled without great difficulty and danger; raſed the Walls, fired the Houſes, brought away the Artillery, and finding no reſiſtance, returned in ſafety to *Berwick*. *Buchanan* refers it to the enſuing year, but I follow the record of our own Hiſtorians.

And having thus far ſpent the year abroad, I at length return home, where I find *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in the *Tower*. He was a man very learned, and no leſs ſubtil, adhering to Gardiner *Biſhop of* Wincheſter *committed to the* Tower.

1548. to the Popiſh Faction, yet ſo, as that he would be content to accommodate himſelf to the current of the times. King *Henry* had employed him in many Embaſſages, and that with ample authority, under whom he durſt not oppoſe the proceedings confirmed by enacted Laws. And under *Edward* he repreſſed himſelf for a time, ſeemingly conſenting to the commenced Reformation. But his diſſimulation was at length manifeſtly diſcovered to the Privy Council, who had commanded him in a Sermon at *Pauls* Croſs to ſignifie his approbation of the preſent eſtate of the Church; which he accordingly did on the nine and twentieth of *June*, but ſo ambiguouſly and obſcurely, that he ſatisfied them not. And being expreſly forbidden to ſpeak any thing concerning the *Euchariſt*, he knowing that by the Laws nothing was definitively determined in that point, did ſo eargerly aſſert that Papiſtical (I will not ſay Capernaitical) Corporal and Real Preſence of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament, that he wonderfully offended the minds of many, but eſpecially of the Lords of the Council. Wherefore he was on the thirtieth of *June* committed, and obſtinately refuſing to acknowledge his errour, was two years after deprived of his Biſhoprick, and (as he was of a turbulent ſpirit) leſt he ſhould practiſe any thing againſt the Eſtate, detained nevertheleſs in priſon until the death of *Edward*. In the mean time Archbiſhop *Cranmer* by writing oppugned that groſs and carnal aſſertion of the Church of *Rome* concerning *Chriſt*'s Preſence in the Sacrament; whom *Gardiner* ſecretly anſwered under the fictitious name of *M. Conſtantius*.

Gardiner deprived of his Biſhoprick.

Boner Biſhop of London *committed alſo.*

Neither did that Blood-ſucker *Boner* Biſhop of *London* (who in Queen *Maries* Reign ſo heated the Kingdom with the Funeral Piles of ſo many Saints) ſpeed any better than *Wincheſter*. For being likewiſe enjoyned to Preach at the *Croſs*, he did it ſo coldly, omitting many of thoſe points whereof he was commanded to ſpeak, that he was likewiſe committed, deprived of his Biſhoprick, and ſo lived until Queen *Mary* ſet them both at liberty. What the Objections were againſt *Cuthert Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Dureſm*, and *George Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, I do not find, but that they ran the ſame fortune is manifeſt. They were both very Learned Prelates, but eſpecially *Tonſtall*, a mild man, and of moſt ſweet conditions, in regard whereof I do not a little wonder that he was ſo hardly dealt with. But the drift of the puniſhments of ſuch men, who in *Henry*'s time were accounted the chief Lights of our Church, I conceive to have been, that the reſt of that Order might by their example be admoniſhed, without diſſimulation either to reſign their Biſhopricks to others that were thought more worthy, or be induced to conform themſelves to the preſent Reformation of the Church, according to the preſcript of the Laws in that behalf lately Enacted. And yet I would there were not ſufficient cauſe to ſuſpect, that this was but

but a made opportunity, the removal of theſe obſtacles making way for the Invaſion of theſe widow Seas. For as ſoon as *Tonſtal* was exautorated, that rich Biſhoprick of *Dureſm* by Act of Parliament was wrecked, the chief revenues and cuſtoms of it being incorporated to the Crown, and the reſt in deſpight of the Tenants ſo gelded, that at this day it ſcarce poſſeſſeth the third part of its antient Revenues. Yet did Queen *Mary* ſeriouſly endeavour the reſtitution of thoſe religious portions: Queen *Elizabeth* would hardly conſent that it ſhould loſe any of its plumes, (yet ſome it did) and King *James* hath lately enacted againſt the Alienation of Church-lands, yea even to the Crown, otherwiſe than upon reſervation of a reaſonable Rent, and the return of them to the Church after the expiration of three lives or one and twenty years. The hungry Courtier finding how good a thing the Church was, had now for ſome years become acquainted with it out of a zealous intent *to Prey*: Neither could the horridneſs of her ſacred Skeleton as yet ſo work on him, as to divert his reſolutions, and compaſſionately to leave the Church to her religious poverty. Beſide, the infancy of the King in this incertain ebb and flow of Religion, made her opportune to all kind of Sacriledge. So that we are deſervedly to thank the Almighty Guardian of the Church, that theſe Locuſts have not quite devoured the Maintenance of the Labourers in this *Engliſh* Vineyard. For we yet retain that antient form of government in the Primitive Church by Biſhops, who have for the moſt part wherewith to ſupport their honourable Function, as likewiſe have other thoſe ſubordinate Prelates, Deans, Archdeacons, and Canons of Cathedral Churches: And as for our Preachers of the more polite and learned ſort, we think him little befriended by Fortune, who long liveth in expectation of a competent preferment. I would the reſidue of the Reformed Churches of Chriſtendom had not been pared ſo near the quick by *preciſe hands*, that but ſome few of them might in this kind be paralleled with ours. 1548.

Diſcord between the Duke of Somerſet and his Brother the Lord Admiral.

And now behold two Brothers acting their ſeveral Tragedies. Jealouſie, Envy, and Ambition infernal Furies, had armed them againſt each other, and the Pride of the Feminine Sex prepared them for the Liſts. A lamentable exigent, wherein the loſs of his Adverſary muſt be the deſtruction of each; wherein the Kingdom muſt groan at the loſs of one, both being in the Eſtate incompatible; wherein the King himſelf muſt (as moſt ſuſpect he did) ſuffer, that he might not ſuffer. *Thomas Seymour* Lord Admiral had married *Catharine Parr* the Widow of the deceaſed King. What correſpondence there might be between Her (who had been the Wife of the late Sovereign) and the Ducheſs of *Somerſet*, whoſe Husband being Protector of the Realm, in point of command little differed from a Sovereign, and had over his Brother the Admiral the Advantages of Age, Dignity, and

1548. general Eſteem, if any man cannot without difficulty conjecture, I refer him to the firſt Book of *Herodian*, where let him obſerve the contentions ariſing between *Criſpina* the Wife of *Commodus*, and *Lucilla*, who had been formerly married to *L. Verus* the Emperour. But in this the divers diſpoſitions of the Brothers ſet on edge on the emulous humours of their Wives. The Duke was mild, affable, free, open, and no way malicious; the Admiral was naturally turbulent, fierce, ambitious, and conceived himſelf to be of the two the fitter for Publick Government. Preſently after the death of *Henry*, the Admiral thruſt on by the flattery of his overweening conceits, reſolved to add a luſtre to his good parts, by marrying the Lady *Elizabeth*, as yet indeed ſcarce marriageable. But the Protector wiſely conſidering how raſh and perilous this project was, fruſtrated that deſign. By his after marriage with *Catharine* a moſt beautiful and noble Lady, and abounding with wealth befitting her dignity, moſt men were confident, that the gulf of his vaſt deſires would have been ſatisfied; but the Law whereby he was condemned (though peradventure Enacted by ſtrength of Faction) will manifeſt the contrary. What notice I have received, and what the publick Records teſtifie concerning this, being perſwaded, that they ſwerve not much from the truth, I think I may without blame relate. The Admiral having now fortified himſelf with money and friends, and deeming his Brother's Lenity, Sluggiſhneſs; began to behold him with the eye of contempt, and to caſt about how to diſpoſſeſs him of the ſaddle, and (being of like degree of conſanguinity to the King) to enjoy the ſeat himſelf. To the furtherance of this project it would be conducible, ſecretly to vilifie and traduce the Protector's actions, to corrupt the King's Servants, eſpecially if in any degree of favour, by fair words and large promiſes by degrees to aſſure himſelf of the Nobility, to ſecure his Caſtle of *Holt* with a Magazin of warlike proviſion; but above all to take care for money the nerves of *war* and aſſurance of *Peace*. Theſe things having been ordered with exact diligence, and for ſupply of coin the Exchequer mightily pilled, he unmasks himſelf to ſome of the Nobility, ſignifying his intent of ſetling himſelf at the Stern, by forcibly ſeiſing on the King's perſon. Nay his madneſs ſo far tranſported him, that to one of them, conditionally that his aſſiſtance were not wanting to the advancement of his deſigns, he promiſed that the King ſhould marry his Daughter. In the mean time the Queen his Wife being in *September* delivered of a Daughter, died in child-bed, and that not without ſuſpition of Poiſon. For after her death he more importunately ſought the Lady *Elizabeth* than ever, eagerly endeavouring to procure her conſent to a clandeſtine Marriage (as was that with the deceaſed Queen) and not until after the Nuptials, to crave the aſſent of the King or the Lords of the Council.

ANNO

ANNO DOM. 1549. *REG.* 3.

1549.

BUt the Admiral's projects being opportunely diſcovered, and a Parliament lately aſſembled, he is by the authority thereof committed to the *Tower*, and without tryal condemned. The Parliament being on the fourteenth of *March* diſſolved, he is on the ſixth day after publickly beheaded, having firſt vehemently proteſted, that he never willingly did either actually endeavour, or ſeriouſly intend any thing againſt the Perſon of the King, or the Eſtate. Concerning his death the opinions of men were divers, their cenſures divers. Among ſome the Protector heard ill, for ſuffering his Brother to be executed without ordinary courſe of trial: As for for theſe faults proceeding from the violence of youthful heat, they might better have been pardoned, than the King be left deſtitute of an Uncle's help, or himſelf of a Brother's. Nay (they ſay) there wanted not thoſe that before this ſevere courſe taken with the Admiral, admoniſhed the Protector to have a heedy regard to this action: Some peradventure might be content to let a Brother ſhed *tears*; to ſhed his *blood*, when they might prevent it, ſcarce any: it was much to be feared leſt his Brother's death would be his ruine, and the loſs of ſuch Friends, a hazard to the King. Others highly extolled his impartial proceeding, whom fraternal affection could not divert from righting his Countrey: For if Conſanguinity or Alliance to the King ſhould be a ſufficient cauſe to exempt them from puniſhment, who ſhould plot and contrive the change of government in the Eſtate; upon what tickliſh terms ſhould we all ſtand, whiles nothing could be certain and ſure in the publick government? Others maintained the neceſſity of cutting off the Admiral, and that it ſtood the Protector upon ſo to do, if he either regarded his own or the King's ſafeguard. For at what other mark did the Admiral aim, but that having ſeiſed on the King's Perſon, removed his Brother from the Protectorſhip, and married the Lady *Elizabeth*, he might by Poiſon or ſome other means make away the young King already deprived of his Friends, and as in the right of his Wife inveſt himſelf in the Regal Throne, whereto the Lady *Mary* (although the elder Siſter) as inceſtuouſly begotten, could make no claim? And thus much was in a Sermon delivered before the King by *Hugh Latimer*, who having ten years ſince reſigned his Biſhoprick, had alſo hitherto abſtained from Preaching, until after the death of King *Henry* this Light was again reſtored, that by his rays he might illuſtrate God's Church. But how true his conjectures were concerning the Lord *Seymour*, I will not undertake to determine. Whether faulty in his ambition, or over-born by his envious adverſaries, thus ended the Admiral his life, who was indeed a valiant

The Lord Admiral beheaded.

1549. Commander, and not unfit for a Conſultation, in whoſe ruine the Protector was likewiſe involved.

An Inſurrection. Not long after this great man's fall, the People throughout almoſt the whole Realm brake out into a Rebellion, whereto the frequent uſurpations and avarice of the Gentry, who in many places encloſed the common and waſte grounds for their own pleaſure and private profit, had incited them. The Lords of the Council upon notice of the Peoples diſcontents, and the probability of an Inſurrection unleſs ſpeedy courſe were taken to appeaſe them, diſpatched ſome into *Kent* (the Fountain of this general Uproar) who ſhould upon due examination of the cauſes of the Peoples grievances, admoniſh thoſe that were in that kind faulty, by throwing open the Incloſures to reſtore to the People what had been unjuſtly taken from them; otherwiſe they ſhould by Authority Royal be forced thereunto, and by their puniſhments ſerve to deter others from the like inſolencies and oppreſſions. The moſt part obey, and (a moſt grateful ſpectacle to the People) cauſe their new made Incloſures to be again laid open. Wherewith Report acquainting the neighbouring Shires, the unruly multitude enraged, that like reſtitution had not as yet been made to them, not expecting the neceſſary direction of the Magiſtrate, but as if each one were authorized in his own cauſe, both to judge of and revenge received injuries, taking Arms level the Dikes, aſſert the incloſed the Lands, and give hope that there their fury would be at a ſtand. But as the Sea having once tranſgreſſed the juſt limits of its ſhoar, by little and little eats its way to an Inundation, and is not but with exceſſive toil to be forced within its uſual bounds: So theſe having once tranſcended the preſcripts of the Laws, let themſelves looſe to all kind of licentiouſneſs, over-run and ſpoil the Countrey, murther thoſe that favour not their proceedings, and at length by the conflux of the baſer ſort and malecontents ſo increaſe their numbers, that it was not to make head againſt them with ſmall Forces. And *in* Norfolk, although this plague reigned more in *Norforlkſhire* than any where elſe, yet had it ſo ſpred its contagion over the moſt part of the Kingdom, that it was ſcarce any where ſincere and free from infection. For the Counties of *Kent*, *Oxford*, *Surrey*, *Buckingham*, *Eſſex*, *Cambridge*, *York*, *Lincoln*, but eſpecially *Devon* and *Somerſet* were imbroiled in theſe tumults. In *Norfolk* only had twenty thouſand aſſembled, who now confident of their ſtrength, did no more talk of Incloſures, but ſtretched their complaints to a higher ſtrain; as that, *The free-born Commonalty was oppreſſed by a ſmall number of Gentry, who glut themſelves with pleaſure, whiles the poor Commons waſted with daily labour do like pack-horſes live in extreme ſlavery. But howſoever the calamities incident to this preſent life may with a conſtant patience be endured, the Soul is to be redeemed even with a thouſand deaths. Holy Rites eſtabliſhed by antiquity, are abroliſhed,*

1549.

aboliſhed, new ones are autorized, and a new form of Religion obtruded. To other evils death gives an end; but if they ſuffer their Souls to be contaminated and polluted by this kind of impiety, what thing is there that can equal them in miſeries, to whom the end of theſe preſent ones is but the beginning of ſome more horrid, namely of the pains infernal, which no death can ever terminate. Why then ſhould they not go to the Court, and appoint the King yet in his minority new Counſellors, removing thoſe who now ruling as they liſt, confound things ſacred and prophane, regarding nothing elſe but the enriching of themſelves with the publick Treaſure, that they may riot it amid the publick calamities?

This was the common complaint and reſolution, eſpecially of the *Devonſhire* Rebels, who having among them made choice of their Chieftains, did endeavour to unite themſelves with the reſt of their fellow Rebels. But to keep them from joyning, Forces are diſpatched, ſome into *Norfolk*, ſome into *Devonſhire*. For *Norfolk* are deſigned only fifteen hundred under the conduct of the Marquis of *Northampton*, who for a time bravely defended that ſpacious but weak City *Norwich* againſt the inſolent Clowns. But his ſmall Troops being much diminiſhed by the loſs of the Lord *Sheffeild* and ſome others, he was at laſt fain to quit the City to the Enemy, who after ſpoil barbarouſly ſet it on fire, and conſumed a great part of the edifices. This ill ſucceſs drave the Lords of the Council to a more ſerious apprehenſion of the danger, who thereupon ſent the Earl of *Warwick* with more competent Forces, who (as he was an excellent Commander) not only forced the Rebels to relinquiſh the City, but alſo preſſed them ſo hard in their retreat, that he compelled them to fight. They ſeeing a neceſſity of battel impoſed, placed all their Captives (for the moſt part Gentlemen) manacled and chained together, in front, that they alone might bear the fury of the onſet, and dull both the ſwords and courages of the Royaliſts. But their loyalty was not ſo ill recompenced, as to ſuffer for it, ſcarce any of them falling by the ſword. The Rebels were nevertheleſs overthrown, and all either taken or ſlain except a very few, who rallying themſelves, ſeemed deſperately reſolved to renew the fight. But the propoſal of a Pardon made them caſt away their Arms, and peaceably to depart. The number of the chief authors of this Commotion, who were hanged, was great. But *Robert Ket* a Tanner, who in thoſe times, and by that trade had gathered a fortune of a brace of thouſands, was above all as in Fault, ſo in Execution remarkable. He had been the Chieftain in this Rebellion, and was not in reaſon to be obſcured among the common ſort: Wherefore it being thought fit that he ſhould ſurmount them in the glory of a more notorious puniſhment, he was fairly hanged in Chains on the very top of *Norwich* Caſtle.

While the Eaſtern parts of the Kingdom were thus poſſeſſed, the Weſtern parts were not leſs tormented with the ſame Furies. *Devonſhire*

and in Devonſhire.

1549. *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall* with ſome additions out of *Somerſetſhire*, had on the ſame pretences armed fifteen thouſand men, who after they had licentiouſly ranſacked the Countrey, at length ſate down before the famous City of *Exceter*. Forty days they beſieged it, and were repulſed by the Inhabitants, though utterly deſtitute of warlike proviſion. On the ſixth of *Auguſt*, *John* Lord *Ruſſel* (after Earl of *Bedford*) entring the City with forces and munition, diſaſſieged it, purſued the Rebels, ſlew ſome, took others, to the number of four thouſand, whereof many were after executed; but eſpecially *Humfrey Arundell* Captain of St. *Michael's-Mount* in *Cornwall*, a man of antient deſcent and ſufficiently ample revenues: ſo that I cannot ſufficiently wonder, what madneſs drave him to aſſociate himſelf with this deſperate and unruly rabble. With him were hanged *Robert Bochin*, *Jo. Tomſon*, *Roger Barret*, *Jo. Ulcocke*, *Will. Aſa*, *James Norton*, *Jo. Baron*, and *Richard Benet* Prieſts, and beſides them, *John* and *James Roſogan*, *Jo. Payne*, *Tho. Underhill*, and *Jo. Solman*, all prime incendiaries and chief authors of this tumult. The City of *Exceter* in memory of this their delivery hath ever ſince with an anniverſary ſolemnity kept the ſixth of *Auguſt* holy. As for the other Counties infeſted with the reliques of this Rebellion, the evil being tempeſtively ſuppreſt before it ſpred it ſelf, and the ringleaders puniſhed, they were quickly reduced to their former temper.

Some Forts loſt in Boloignois.

Neither were our affairs more peaceable abroad than at home. For *Henry* King of *France* taking advantage of our domeſtick ſedition, not regarding the League concluded between us and his Father, invaded *Boloignois*, where his ſucceſs was ſuch, that he was animated to greater attempts. He ſets forth a Fleet for the taking in of the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guarnſey* the ſole portions remaining to the *Engliſh* of the Duchy of *Normandy*. At theſe Iſles the *French* are with great loſs driven aboard their Ships. At the landing they loſt a thouſand men, and we very few. About *Bouloigne*, * *Mont-Lambert*, *Sellaque*, and *Ambleteul* were loſt. *Sellaque* was defended by two Enſigns: But having been battered by the Enemy, while we unwarily parley with *Montmorency*, was on the five and twentieth of *Auguſt* forced by them. At *Ambleteul* were ſix Enſigns of Foot, who for ſome days made good the place: But finding themſelves unable long to hold out againſt ſo great forces, upon no other terms than grant of lives, yielded the Fort to the *French*. The loſs of theſe places ſo daunted the Garriſon at *Blanconet*, that having been ſcarce ſaluted by the Enemies Cannon, upon condition of life and goods they quitted the place. Neither was this the laſt important effect of our conceived terrour; for the *Engliſh* at *Mont-Lambert* not ſo much as attending the coming of the Enemy, fired their lodgings, made their proviſion unuſeful, and retreated to *Guiſnes*. The Fort at the Tower of *Ordre* fortified both by nature and art, gave a period to this

* *Corruptly* Bunlamberg.

years

years ſucceſs; ſtanding reſolutely upon defence until the extremity of Winter forced the *French* to raiſe their ſiege. 1549.

The loſs of theſe ſmall pieces ſet the Protector in the wane of the vulgar opinion, and afforded ſufficient matter for Envy to work on. Among the Lords of the Privy Council the moſt eminent was the Earl of *Warwick*, a man of a vaſt ſpirit, which was the more enlarged by the contemplation of his great Acts performed both abroad and at home. He had long looked a-ſquint upon *Somerſet*'s greatneſs, whom in a favourable eſteem of himſelf he deemed far beneath him; and was withal perſwaded, that could he but remove the Duke, due regards would caſt the Protectorſhip on him. The conſideration alſo of the Duke's nakedneſs (diſarmed of that metalſom piece the Admiral)

Enmity between the Protector and the Earl of Warwick.

——— (*En quo diſcordia Fratres*
Perduxit miſeros) ———

made his hopes preſent themſelves in the more lively ſhapes. He ſeeks about for ſufficient matter wherewith to charge the Duke, who could not be long ignorant of theſe practices againſt him. The Duke finding himſelf aimed at, but not well diſcerning whether the Earl intended a legal or military proceſs againſt him, on the ſixth of *October*, from *Hampton-Court* where the King then reſided, ſent Letters to the City of *London*, requiring from thence an aid of a thouſand men, who ſhould guard the King and him from the treacherous attempts of ſome ill-affected Subjects. And in the mean time preſſeth in the adjacent Countrey; where having raiſed a reaſonable company, he the ſame night carried away the King, attended by ſome of the Nobility and ſome of the Council, from thence to *Windſor*, a place, becauſe fortified, more ſafe, and convenient for reſiſtance. But the Earl had made a greater part of the Council, who accompanied him at *London*. To them he makes a formal complaint againſt the Protector, beſeeching them, by their aſſiſtance to ſecure him from the Protector's malice, who ſought to entrap him for his life. Theſe Lords ſend a contre-Letter to the *Londoners*, demanding aids of them for the delivery of the King out of the hands of his Enemy (for ſo they were pleaſed to term the Duke.) Then they ſend abroad Proclamations, wherein they inſert the chief heads of their accuſation; as that *By ſowing ſeeds of diſcord, the Duke had troubled that ſetled and peaceable eſtate wherein King* Henry *had left this Kingdom; and had been the chief cauſe that it had lately been engaged in Civil Wars to the loſs of many thouſand lives: That many Forts conquered by* Henry *with hazard of his Perſon, were by the Duke's either cowardiſe or treachery regained by the Enemy: That he regarded not the advice of the reſt of the Lords of the Council, and had plainly neglected King* Henry's *Inſtructions concerning the Government of the*

1549. *the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland: *That his chief Studies, and wherein he was moſt ſeen, were to rake up Wealth, to maintain a Faction among the Nobility, and yet comply with both parties for his own advantages, to build ſtately Palaces far exceeding the proportion of a Subject, and that even in the very inſtant that the Eſtate did ſhrink under the burthen both of inteſtine and forein Wars.*

The Duke certified of their proceedings, and ſeeing himſelf forſaken (for the *Londoners* being prepoſſeſſed, were ſo far from ſupplying him, that they at the ſame time afforded his Adverſary five hundred, and the greateſt part of the Nobility had by joyning with the Earl made their cauſe one) at laſt forſook himſelf alſo; and craving of the adverſe party, that they would abſtain from violence toward him, and proceed only according to the uſual courſes of Legal tryal; delivered the King to their tuition, and remitted himſelf to their diſpoſal; by whom on the fourteenth of *October* he was committed to the *Tower*, together with Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *John Thin*, and ſome others.

The Protector committed.

The death of Paul *the Third, Pope.*

On the tenth of *November* died *Paul* the Third, having ſate Pope near about fifteen years. The Conclave of Cardinals conſulting about the election of a new Pope, began to have regard of Cardinal *Pool*, in whom the greatneſs of his Extract, his Virtuous Life, Gravity, and admirable Learning, were very conſiderable motives. The Conclave was at that time divided, ſome were *Imperialiſts*, ſome *French*, and a third Part (whereof the Cardinal *Farneſe* was principal) ſtood Neuter. Theſe later at length joyning with the *Imperialiſts*, caſt their unanimous Votes upon *Pool:* Who upon notice of his Election, blamed them for their raſhneſs, adviſing them again and again, that they ſhould not in their Conſultations be miſled by perturbation of mind, or do any thing for friendſhip or favour, but totally to direct their cogitations to the honour of God and the profit of his Church.

Cardinal Pool *elected Pope.*

Pool himſelf having thus put off the matter, the *French* Cardinals began to alledge, That in regard of the difficulties of ways and diſtance of places, many of the Colledge were yet abſent, and that there was no reaſon why they ſhould with ſuch precipitation proceed to a partial Election before the Conclave were full. The Cardinal *Caraffa* (who ſome years after was Pope, by the name of *Paul* the Fourth) a wayward old man, whoſe cold ſpirits were ſet on fire by Envy and Ambition, ſought to make uſe of *Pool*'s Modeſty to his own advantage, hoping himſelf as eminent and in as fair a way as any of the Colledge (*Pool* excepted) might be advanced to the Chair, and to leſſen the favour of the Conclave towards *Pool*, he betook himſelf to calumnies, accuſing *Pool* of ſuſpition of Hereſie and Incontinency, that *In* Germany *and his Legacy at* Trent, *he had too much favoured the* Lutherans, *had often entertained* Immanuel Tremellius, *had enrolled* Antonio Flaminio *ſuſpected of* Lutheraniſm, *in his Family, and promoted him to many*

Eccle-

Eccleſiaſtical Dignities; and in his Legacy at Viterbo *uſed not that ſeverity againſt that ſort of men, that was requiſite. Neither could that compoſed gravity ſo free him from the taint of looſeneſs, but that many were of opinion he had cloiſtered a Virgin of his own begetting: That he wondred what the Conclave meant, with ſo impetuous a current to proceed to the Election of this one man, and he a Foreiner: As if* Italy *it ſelf were ſo barren of deſerving men, that we muſt be fain to ſend for this man out of* Britain, *almoſt the fartheſt part of the known World, to inveſt him in the Papacy; whereof what would be the effect, but that the Emperour, at whoſe devotion this man wholly was, might once again make himſelf Maſter of* Rome, *now by indulgence, as before by force.* 1549.

To theſe allegations *Pool*'s reply was ſuch, that he not only cleared himſelf, but alſo quickned the almoſt extinguiſhed deſires of the Conclave to elect him. The major part whereof aſſembling at his Chamber by night, wiſhed *Ludovico Priulo* the Cardinal's boſom-friend (between whom the correſpondence of of their diſpoſitions had bred a mutual affection) to awake him, for that having Elected him, they were purpoſely come (an accuſtomed ceremony) to Adore him, and diſſolve the Conclave. *Priulo* having ſignified to him with teſtimonies of exceſſive joy, the intent of theſe Cardinals, was gently blamed by him, and they diſmiſſed with this anſwer, *That a matter of ſo great conſequence (carrying with it ſo great a burthen, that it would deterr an ingenuous man from the acceptation of it) was not to be tumultuouſly, but upon mature deliberation orderly to be tranſacted: as for the ſeaſon, it was utterly unfit, foraſmuch as* God *was the* God *of* Light, *and not of* Darkneſs: *they ſhould therefore do well to deferr it until the next day, and if then their reſolutions proved the ſame, he would ſubmit himſelf to their pleaſures.* The *Italian* Cardinals conceiving theſe delays to proceed out of ſtupidity, began to contemn him; and changing their determinations, a little after pitched upon Cardinal *Montanus*, whom they created Pope, by the name of *Julius* the Third.

ANNO DOM. 1550. *REG.* 4.

THe Duke of *Somerſet* having now for three months continued a priſoner, and not convicted of any crime which might touch his life; it being not thought fitting that ſo great a man, lately Protector of the King's Perſon and Realm, ſhould for a ſmall offence be condemned to perpetual impriſonment; is under-hand dealt with to ſubmit himſelf, with acknowledgement that he had deſerved this or whatſoever greater puniſhment the King ſhould be pleaſed to inflict on him, and withal to implore the favour of his Majeſty's Royal Clemency. To this he eaſily 1550.

1550.

The Duke of Somerſet ſet at liberty.

condeſcended, and was on the ſixth of *February* ſet a liberty, but not reſtored to the dignity of Protector, only contenting himſelf with the rank of a Privy Counſellor. But it being conceived, that revenge might draw the Duke to new practices, by mediation of Friends he is reconciled to the Earl of *Warwick*, and that this atonement might be the more firm and ſincere, the Duke's Daughter is on the third of *June* married to the Viſcount *Liſle* the Earl of *Warwick*'s Son, the King gracing the Nuptials with his preſence. *Thuanus* (I know not upon what grounds) writeth, That the Earl by a kind of counterfeit ſhew that he was deſirous of the reſtitution of the *Romiſh* Religion, had ſetled himſelf in the good opinion of the vulgar, who had not yet learned to renew themſelves by caſting off the old skin, but reverenced Superſtition for its reputed Antiquity: and that his diſſimulation being diſcovered, fearing leſt he ſhould be forſaken of them whom he had with falſe hopes deluded, the conſideration thereof, and of the Duke's mild and free diſpoſition, would endear his Adverſary to them: to prevent this danger he contrived this alliance with the Duke, and procured his liberty.

In the mean of theſe paſſages, on the nineteenth of *January* the Lord *Ruſſel* Lord Privy Seal, was created Earl of *Bedford*, *William* Lord *Saint-John* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and Sir *William Paget* Lord *Paget*.

Peace with the Scots and French.

The Earl of *Bedford* and the Lord *Paget* were within three days after with Sir *William Peters* and Sir *John Maſon* diſpatched into *France* for the Treaty of a Peace with the Deputies appointed by the *French*, who were *Montmorency* Governour of *Picardy*, *Gaſper Coligny* Lord of *Chaſtillon* afterward Admiral of *France*, *Andrew Gillar Mortair* and *William Boucherelle*. The Lord *Paget* not long before had been ſent to the Emperour to ſignifie how we were diſtreſſed on the one ſide by the *Scots*, and on the other by the *French*, and miſerably rent at home by inteſtine diſſentions, that our neceſſities required ſpeedy ſuccours, or would force us to condeſcend to an inconvenient Peace with *France*. But perceiving nothing was to be obtained of him, we ſtrook hands with the *French* upon theſe conditions.

That Boloigne *and all the Forts in* Boloignois *ſhould be ſurrendred to the* French, *together with the Artillery and other military proviſion:*

That in lieu thereof the King of France *ſhould pay unto* Edward *four hundred thouſand Crowns by equal portions, at two payments:*

That the Engliſh *ſhould reſtore to the* Scots, Lauder *and* Douglas; *and (if the Queen of* Scots *ſhould deſire it) ſhould raſe their Fortifications in* Haymon *and at* Roxburgh.

The Emperour was on both ſides comprehended in the League, and the Queen of *Scots* by the *French*. The two Kings preſented each

each other with their Military Orders; and (as one writeth) it was on both parts agreed on, that *Edward* ſhould marry one of the Daughters of *France*. For the ratification of the Articles, on the eighth of *April* Hoſtages were given: 1550.

By Us,

The Duke of Suffolk,
The Earl of Hertford *Son to the Duke of* Somerſet,
The Earl of Arundel,
The Earl of Derby,
The Earl of Bath.

By the *French*,

John *of* Bourbon *Duke of* Anguien,
Claud *of* Lorain *Marquis of* Mayenne,
Francis *Son to the Conſtable* Montmorency,
Lewis *of* Tremoville,
Francis *of* Vendoſme *Vidame of* Chartres,
Claud *d'*Annebalt.

This Peace between us and *France* was on the third of *March* ſolemnly Proclaimed in *London*, and on the five and twentieth of *April*, *Bouloigne* being accordingly ſurrendred to the *French*, our Hoſtages were returned.

On the thirtieth of *July* died the Lord *Wriothſley* Knight of the Garter, late Lord Chancellour of *England* and Earl of *Southampton*. He had about the beginning of this King's Reign delivered up the Seal, the Cuſtody whereof was committed to the Lord *Rich*. But having been about half a year paſt removed (as was alſo the Earl of *Arundel*, but for what cauſe is uncertain) from the Council Table, he at length (whether out of Grief or ſome other cauſe) fell ſick and died. He was Father to *Henry* the ſecond Earl, and Grandfather to *Henry* the third Earl of *Southampton* not long ſince deceaſed, who having taſted of both fortunes, did heretofore as generouſly behave himſelf in adverſity, as he did ſince moderately in proſperity, whereto by the Clemency of our late Sovereign he was reſtored.

ANNO DOM. 1551. *REG.* 5.

MEntion hath formerly been made concerning the Sweating Sickneſs, a diſeaſe to which *England* hath given a name, as well in regard of its original, as of the known diſpoſition of our Bodies to admit of this virulent contagion. *England* had been formerly afflicted with it, but never ſo mortally as this preſent 1551.

The Sweating Sickneſs.

1551. year. *Shrewsbury* was now the firſt place acquainted with this Peſtilence, there it began in *April*, and thence diffuſing it ſelf over the moſt part of the Kingdom, at length it vaniſhed away in the North about the beginning of *October*. The fury of it was ſuch, as if it would never end but by its proper cruelty, when it ſhould not have left ſubjects whereon to feed. The dead whom it ſwept away were numberleſs. In *London* only eight hundred was ſcarce a ſeven-nights ſtint. It made its firſt entry into this Iſland in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh *Anno* 1486, and from hence it took its progreſs into other Nations. The Infected flowed away, and within the ſpace of twenty four hours when this malignant diſeaſe was moſt merciful in its execution, peradventure within twelve, did ſweat out their Souls. Women, children, and old men it for the moſt part over-paſſed, and wreaked it ſelf on the robuſtious youth and well compact middle age, who, if in the beginning of their ſickneſs did but ſlumber, periſhed inſtantly. If it ſeiſed on any that were full gorged, the recovery was in a manner deſperate. Nay and of others whatſoever they were, ſcarce one of a hundred eſcaped, until time had found out a remedy; the manner whereof was thus: If any be taken in the day time, he muſt without ſhifting of his apparel betake himſelf to bed: If by night and in bed, let him not ſtir thence, until twenty four hours be run. In the mean let the coverture be ſuch, that it provoke not ſweat, but that it may gently diſtil of it ſelf: if it be poſſible for him ſo long to forbear, let him not eat nor drink more than may moderately ſerve to extinguiſh thirſt: But above all, let him ſo patiently endure heat, that he uncover not any part of his body, no not ſo much as a hand or a foot. The ſtrangeneſs of this diſeaſe I do not ſo much admire, for that *Pliny* in his twenty ſixth Book the firſt Chapter witneſſeth, and daily experience teacheth us, that every Age produceth new and Epidemical diſeaſes. But that which ſurpaſſeth the ſearch of humane reaſon is this, that this Peſtilence afflicted the *Engliſh* in what part of the World ſoever, without touching the Natives, but in *England* alone. This dire contagion promiſcuouſly impoveriſht the Land of people of all ſorts: among thoſe of eſpecial note were *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk*, and his Brother, who were the Sons of *Charles Brandon*, the King's Couſins germane, young Gentlemen of great and lively hopes: by the death of *Henry*, the Duchy was for ſome few hours devolved to the younger Brother, who had the unhappy honour but to be ſeiſed of the Title and die. The Lord *Gray* Marquis of *Dorſet* having married *Frances* the eldeſt Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, in the right of his Wife made claim to the Duchy, and was on the eleventh of *October* inveſted in it. At what time alſo *John Dudley* Earl of *Warwick* was created Duke of *Northumberland*; *William Powlet* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Marquis of *Wincheſter*; and Sir *William Herbert*

The death of the Duke of Suffolk.

A creation of Dukes and Earls.

Herbert Lord *Cardif* Maſter of the Horſe, Earl of *Pembroke*. The maſculine Line of *Dudley* and *Gray* hath been long ſince extinct: Of the Family of the *Powlets* we have ſpoken already: The Lord *Herbert* Brother-in-Law to Queen *Catharine Parr*, derived himſelf from *William Herbert* in the time of *Edward* the Fourth Earl of *Pembroke*, and was ſucceeded in the Earldom by his Son *Henry* Father to *William* the modern Earl (whoſe mature wiſdom and gravity even in his greener years, long ſince ranked him in the ſage Sedate of the Privy Council to two ſucceſſive Kings) and to *Philip* by King *James* created Earl of *Montgomery*. Then alſo were knighted Sir *John Cheeke* the King's Schoolmaſter, Sir *Henry Dudley*, Sir *Henry Nevill*, and (whom I cannot mention but with due honour) Sir *William Cecill*. *Cecill* I ſay, who then Secretary of Eſtate, was afterward by all *Europe* held in admiration for his wiſdom; whom Queen *Elizabeth* made Lord Treaſurer of *England* and Baron of *Burleigh*, and was whileſt he lived a ſecond prop of this Eſtate; who on the fourth of *Auguſt* 1598 pioufly ended his long, but for the publick weals ſake ever reſtleſs life, leaving two Sons, *Thomas* by King *James* created Earl of *Exeter*, and *Robert* out of the ſame Fountain of Royal Goodneſs Earl of *Saliſbury* and Lord Treaſurer of *England*.

1551.

The deſcent of the Earls of Pembroke.

And now the ill cemented affections of the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Northumberland* diſſolved into open enmity. In the proſecution whereof, *Somerſet*, otherwiſe of a moſt mild diſpoſition (but Patience abuſed oft runneth into the extreme of Fury) provoked by continual injuries, reſolved (as ſome write) to murther *Northumberland*. To this end, but under colour of a viſit, privily armed, and well attended by Seconds who awaited him in an outer Chamber, he comes to his Adverſary at that time by reaſon of ſome indiſpoſition of Body keeping his Chamber, hath acceſs unto him naked as he was in his Bed, but is ſo courteouſly entertained, and with ſuch ſmooth language, that the Duke of *Somerſet* good man repenting himſelf of his Bloody Reſolutions, would not Execute what he purpoſely came for. At his departure one of his Conſpirators is reported to have asked him, *whether he had done the Feat?* and upon his denial to have added, *Then you are undone.* This his intent being by his own Party bewrayed, a ſecond Accuſation is engroſſed againſt him. The matter is referred to the Council Table, and he on the ſixteenth of *October* again committed to the *Tower* together with the Ducheſs his Wife, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *William Partridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Thomas Arundell*, and many other of his Friends.

Enmity between the Dukes of Somerſet *and* Northumberland *revived.*

On the firſt of *December* the Marquis of *Winchester* being for that day High Steward, he is Arraigned for Treaſon againſt the Eſtate, which he had not only ill but treacherouſly managed; and for Conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Northumberland*. Of

Treaſon

1551. Treaſon he cleared himſelf, and his Peers acquitted him. For the Conſpiracy he was by his own Confeſſion condemned, and that by virtue of a Law Enacted 3 *Hen.* 7. which made the very Intent, nay Imagination of Killing a Privy Counſellour puniſhable by Death. But howſoever the Law (Enacted as ſome conceive upon ſomewhat differing intents and meaning) were extended to the higheſt of its rigour, yet can I not but wonder, how a man ſo great in the regards of his Reigning Nephew, of his Honours, of the Popular Favour, ſhould be ſo deſtitute of Learned Advice, as not to exempt himſelf from a Felonious Death by his *Clergy*. But ſuch were the Times, ſuch his Misfortunes in the minority of his Prince; from whoſe revengeful Hand how could the adverſe Faction preſume themſelves ſecure in the future? Neither could they chooſe but be ſomewhat terrified with that Ecchoing Teſtimony of the Peoples Joy, who ſeeing that fatal Virge the Ax (uſually marſhalling Traytors to the Bar) laid aſide upon his freedom from the guilt of Treaſon; from *Weſtminſter* Hall certified that part of the City by their loud feſtival Acclamations, of the gladſom tidings of their Favourite's conceived Abſolution. And theſe peradventure might be cauſes that his Execution was deferred.

Certain Biſhops deprived.

Hitherto had the Eſtate patiently endured the obſtinate Oppoſition of ſome Biſhops in point of Reformation, who for their *Non-conformity* are at length deprived, and others ſubſtituted in their Biſhopricks. Of ſome of them we have occaſionally already ſpoken, whoſe Cenſures notwithſtanding fall in with this Year. *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was deprived the fourteenth of *February*; *Day* of *Chicheſter*, and *Heath* of *Worceſter* on the tenth of *October*; *Tonſtall* of *Dureſm* on the twentieth of *December* committed to the *Tower*; and *Boner* of *London* on the firſt of *October* 1549 had been already exautorated. All of them for fear of practiſing againſt the Eſtate were deteined in Priſon.

Some of the Servants of the Lady Mary *committed.*

And on the laſt of *October Francis Ingleſield*, *Walgrave*, and *Rocheſter* Servants to the Lady *Mary*, as alſo *Francis Mallet* Doctor of Divinity her Chaplain, were committed. I cannot ſpeak any thing certain of the cauſes of any of their Impriſonments, excepting Doctor *Mallet*'s only. At the Emperour's requeſt he was permitted to celebrate Maſs, but with this limitation, *In the preſence of the Lady* Mary, *not otherwiſe*: for adventuring to Celebrate in her abſence, it was thought fit he ſhould be puniſhed for his preſumptuous Tranſgreſſion. With the Lady her ſelf all means had been uſed to conform her to the Times: the King himſelf had taken much pains with her by often ſuaſory Letters, the Council had done the like, and perſonally to ſatisfie her with Reaſon, divers Learned men had been employed. But their labours were vain; for *hatred* to our Religion for her Mothers, for her own ſake, and ſome *politick reſpects* (for by the Decrees of

of our Religion ſhe was made Illegitimate, and conſequently cut off from the Succeſſion to the Crown, if he Brother ſhould die Iſſueleſs) confirmed her in that Superſtition which ſhe had ſucked from her Mother. 1551.

An Arrian burned. On the fourteenth of *April* one *George Paris* a *German* was at *London* burned for Arrianiſm.

An Earthquake. On the five and twentieth of *May*, *Croydon* and ſeven or eight other Villages in *Surrey* were terribly ſhaken with an Earthquake.

The Queen of Scots *in* England. Toward the beginning of *November*, *Mary* Dowager of *Scotland* arriving at *Portſmouth*, ſent to the King and craved leave to paſs through *England* into *Scotland*. Which being granted, and ſhe invited to *London*, entred the City on the ſecond of *November*, where her Entertainment was general and Royal. On the ſixth of *November* ſhe departed for *Scotland*, and had the Charges of her whole Retinue born until ſhe arrived there in ſafety.

The Earl of Arundel *and the Lord* Paget *committed.* About the ſame time alſo the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget* were (but for what cauſes is uncertain) committed to the *Tower*. In the enſuing *April* the Garter was taken from the Lord *Paget*, and conferred on the Earl of *Warwick* the Duke of *Northumberland*'s eldeſt Son. As for the Earl of *Arundel* he was on the third of *December* in the next year ſet at liberty.

The Biſhop of Ely *Lord Chancellor.* On the one and twentieth of *December* was the Lord *Rich* removed from the Chancellorſhip, and *Thomas Goodrich* Biſhop of *Ely* made Lord Chancellor.

ANNO DOM. 1552. *REG.* 6.

1552.

The Duke of Somerſet *beheaded.* THe Duke of *Somerſet* had now continued two Months in Priſon ſince his Condemnation. At length the violence of his Enemies (notwithſtanding the King's deſire to ſave his Uncle, under whoſe Tuition he had paſſed his Childhood) drew him to the Scaffold. Being on the twenty fourth of *January* brought to the place of Execution, he in this manner beſpake the Aſſembly:

Being by the Law condemned, I here willingly ſubmit my ſelf, by exemplary puniſhment to ſatisfie its Rigour. That God hath been pleaſed to grant me ſo long a Preparative to my End, I humbly thank his Eternal Goodneſs: But in that he hath been farther pleaſed to inſpire me with the Knowledge of his Truth, and to make me an Inſtrument for the propagation of the ſame, I can never ſufficiently magnifie his Mercies. In this do I rejoice, in this only do I triumph: beſeeching him, that his Church in this Realm being now reformed according to the Inſtitution of the antient Primitive, the Members thereof may conform their lives to the purity of its received Doctrine.

More

1552.

More he would have ſaid, but a ſtrange tumult and ſudden conſternation of the Aſſembly interrupted him. The People poſſeſſed with a Panick terror, as it were with an unanimous conſent cryed out, *Fly quickly, fly:* inſomuch that of that infinite multitude which the expectation of the Duke's death had drawn together, as many as well could ſeeking to ſhift for themſelves, many are troden to death, and others in the throng as unfortunately preſt, the reſt amazedly expect their own deſtruction, when their own fears were the greateſt danger. The cauſe of their fears no man could certainly ſpeak: one ſaid he heard a terrible crack of Thunder; another the noiſe of a Troop of Horſe: and ſome over credulous, according to the ſway of their Affections, joyfully affirmed that Meſſengers were come with a Pardon for the Duke. But certain Halberdiers appointed to guard the Duke to the Scaffold, but coming tardy, and crying to their Fellows *Away, away*, were more probably the occaſion of this Tumult. The true meaning of this amphibological word, which commandeth haſte *to* and *from*, being miſtaken, and withall a company of Armed men bending themſelves (as was ſuppoſed) againſt the multitude, filled all with terrour and confuſion. The affrighted People being at length with much ado pacified, the Duke intreating them for a while to contain themſelves, that he might with a more ſetled mind depart out of this World, by Prayer commended his Soul to God, and then ſuffered with admirable conſtancy, neither by voice, geſture, nor countenance ſhewing himſelf any way dejected or moved at the apprehenſion of Death, unleſs peradventure you might take this for a token of fear, that when he covered his Eyes with his Handkerchief, his Cheeks had a little more tincture of red than uſual.

That his Death was generally lamented is manifeſt. Many there were who kept Handkerchiefs dipped in his Blood, as ſo many ſacred Relicks. Among the reſt a ſpriteful Dame two years after, when the Duke of *Northumberland* was led Captive through the City for his oppoſition againſt Queen *Mary*, ran to him in the ſtreets, and ſhaking out her bloody Handkerchief before him, *Behold* (ſaid ſhe) *the Blood of that worthy man, that good Uncle of that excellent King, which ſhed by thy treacherous machination, now at this inſtant begins to revenge it ſelf upon thee.* And Sir *Ralph Vane*, who on the twenty ſixth of *February* was with Sir *Miles Partridge* hanged at the ſame place where the Duke had ſuffered, at what time alſo Sir *Michael Stanhop* and Sir *Thomas Arundell* were there beheaded, going to his Execution ſaid, that *His Blood would make* Northumberland's *Pillow uneaſie to him.* Theſe four Knights being to be Executed, did each of them take God to witneſs, that they never practiſed any thing againſt the King nor any of his Council.

To return to the Duke, ſuch was his End. As for his Life, he was a pious juſt man, very zealous in point of Reformation, very

very ſolicitous of the King's ſafety, every way good, and careful of the Weal publick, only a little tainted with the Epidemick of thoſe times, who thought it Religion to reform the Church, as well in its exuberancy of *Means*, as of ſuperſtitious *Ceremonies*, whereof not a few of our Cathedrals to this day complain. 1552.

Many Prodigies enſued his death, whereby many did preſage the Calamities of ſucceeding times. In *Auguſt* ſix Dolphins (a Fiſh ſeldom ſeen in our Seas) were taken in the *Thames*, three near *Quinborough*, and three a little above *Greenwich*, where the Water is ſcarce tainted with the Seas brackiſhneſs. On the ſeventh day of *October* were three Whales caſt up at *Graveſend*. And on the third of *Auguſt* at *Middleton* in *Oxfordſhire* was born a Monſter, ſuch, as few either Naturaliſts or Hiſtorians write of the like. It had two Heads and two Bodies as far as the Navil diſtinct, where they were ſo conjoined that they both had but one way of egeſtion, and their Heads looking always contrary ways. The Legs and Thighs of the one did always ly at the trunk of the other. This (Female) Monſter lived eighteen days, and might have longer peradventure, if it had not been ſo often opened to ſatisfie curioſity, that it took cold and died. *A Monſter.*

This year the Monaſtery of the *Franciſcan* Friers in *London* was converted into a brave Hoſpital, wherein four hundred poor Boys are maintained, and have education befitting free-born men. It is at this day called *Chriſt-Church.*

In *Southwark* alſo was another like place provided for the relief of Poor ſick perſons, and is dedicated to the memory of St. *Thomas.*

ANNO DOM. 1553. *REG.* 7.

THis year ſets a period to young *Edward*'s Reign, who by the defluxion of a ſharp Rheum upon the Lungs ſhortly after became hectical, and died of a Conſumption. Some attribute the cauſe of his ſickneſs to Grief for the death of his Uncles; ſome to Poiſon, and that by a Noſegay of ſweet Flowers preſented him as a great dainty on *New-years-day.* But what hopeful Prince was there ever (almoſt) immaturely taken away, but Poiſon or ſome other treachery was imputed? Our deluded hopes being converted into grief, out of paſſion we bely Fate. Had there been the leaſt ſuſpition of any ſuch inhumane practice, Queen *Mary* would never have ſuffered it to have paſſed as an act of indifferency without an inqueſt. It was doubtleſs a poſthumous rumour purpoſely raiſed to make the Great ones of that Reign diſtaſtful to the ſucceeding times. Howſoever it were, the Nobility underſtanding by the Phyſicians, that the King's eſtate was deſperate, began every one to project his own ends. The Duke of *Northumberland* as he was more potent than reſt, ſo did his ambition fly higher. It was ſomewhat 1553. *The King ſickneth.*

1553. ſtrange, that being not any way able to pretend but a ſhadow of Right to the Crown, he ſhould dream of confirming the Succeſſion of it in his Family. But he ſhall ſoar ſo high, that he ſhall ſinge his Wings, and fall no leſs dangerouſly than he whom the Poets feign to have aſpired to a like unlawful Government. As for the Ladies *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, two obſtacles to be removed, he doubted not by reaſons drawn from their queſtionable Births to exclude them. The next regard muſt be of the Daughters of *Henry* the Seventh. But of the Queen of *Scots* (who was Niece to *Margaret* the eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* the Seventh) he was little ſolicitous: For by reaſon of our continual Enmity with the *Scots*, and thence inveterate Hatred, he imagined that any ſhew of Reaſon would put her by, eſpecially ſhe being contracted to the *French*, whoſe inſolent Government he was confident the *Engliſh* would never brook. In the next place conſideration is to be had of Lady *Frances* Daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* by *Mary* Dowager of *France* the ſecond Daughter of *Henry* the Seventh, who, her two Brothers then alive, had been married to *Henry Gray* Marquis of *Dorſet*. The two Brothers (as before) dying of the late mortality, the Marquis is in the right of his Wife created Duke of *Suffolk*; and this was another ſtop to his Ambition. For the removal whereof he intends this courſe: He imparts his deſigns to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and deſires that a Match may be concluded between the Lord *Guilford Dudley* his fourth Son, and Lady *Jane Grey* the Duke of *Suffolk*'s eldeſt Daughter. And becauſe, if only right of Inheritance ſhould be pretended, the Ducheſs of *Suffolk* were in reaſon to be preferred before her Daughter; he undertakes to perſwade the King not only to diſinherit his Siſters by Will and Teſtament, but alſo by the ſame to declare the Lady *Jane* his next and immediate Succeſſour. *Suffolk* biting at this bait, they complot by drawing the chiefeſt of the Nobility, to contract Affinity either with the one or the other to procure the general aſſent of them all. So on the ſame day that Lady *Jane* under an unhappy Planet was married to Lord *Guilford*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s two youngeſt Daughters are married, *Catharine* to Lord *Henry* eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and crouch-backed *Mary* to *Martin Keyes* Groom Porter. *Northumberland*'s eldeſt Daughter alſo named *Catharine* was married to the Lord *Haſtings* eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Huntington*. Theſe Marriages were in *June* Solemnized at *London*, the King at that time extremely languiſhing.

Having thus brought theſe things to a deſired paſs, nothing now remained but to act his part with the weak King. To Him he inculcates, *In what danger the eſtate of the Church would be, if He dying, proviſion were not firſt made of a pious Succeſſour, and ſuch a one as ſhould maintain the now eſtabliſhed Religion. How the Lady* Mary *ſtood affected was well known. Of the Lady* Elizabeth *there*

1553.

there might be peradventure better hopes. But their cauſes were ſo ſtrongly connexed, that either both muſt be excluded, or the Lady Mary *be admitted. That is was the part of a Religious and Good Prince to ſet apart all reſpects of Blood, where* God's *Glory and the Subject's weal might be endangered. They that ſhould do otherwiſe, were after this Life (which is ſhort) to expect Revenge at* God's *dreadful Tribunal, where they are to undergo the tryal either of eternal Life or eternal Death. That the Duke of* Suffolk, *had three Daughters neareſt to him in degrees of Blood; they were ſuch as their Virtues and Birth did commend, and from whom the violation of Religion, or the danger of a Forein yoak by any Match was not to be feared, foraſmuch as their Education had been Religious, they had as it were with their Milk ſuckt in the Spiritual food of true Chriſtian Doctrine, and were alſo matched to Husbands as zealous of the Truth as themſelves; He could wiſh and would adviſe, that theſe might be ſucceſſively called to the Crown, but with this caution,* That they ſhould maintain the now eſtabliſhed Religion. *And although Lady* Jane *the eldeſt of the three were married to his Son; he would be content that they ſhould be bound by Oath to perform whatſoever his Majeſty ſhould decree: For he had not ſo much regard to his own as the general good.*

His Will, wherein he diſinheriteth his Siſters.

Theſe Reaſons ſo prevailed with the young King, that he made his Will, and therein as much as in him lay, excluded both his Siſters from the Succeſſion to the Crown, and all thers whatſoever, beſide the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Daughters. This Will was read in preſence of the Council and chief Judges of the Realm, and by each of them confirmed, wth a ſtrict command that no man ſhould publiſh the contents of it, leſt it might prove an occaſion of Sedition and Civil Tumults. The Archbiſhop *Cranmer* did for a while refuſe to ſubſcribe to it, not deeming it any way agreeable to equity, that the right of lawful Succeſſion ſhould upon any pretences be violated: But the King urging him, and making Religion a motive, which was otherwiſe likely to ſuffer, after a long diſceptation he was at length drawn to aſſent. But theſe delays of his were ſo little regarded by Queen *Mary*, that under her ſcarce any man was ſooner marked out for deſtruction. Some few days after theſe paſſages, on the ſixth of *July* in the ſixteenth year of his age King *Edward* at *Greenwich* ſurrendred his Soul to God, having under his Tutors reigned ſix years, five months, and nineteen days, and even in that tender age given great proof of his Virtue; a Prince of great Devotion, Conſtancy of Mind, Love of the Truth, and incredibly Studious; Virtues which with Royal Greatneſs ſeldom concur. Some three hours before his Death, not thinking any one had been preſent to over-hear him, he thus commended himſelf to God:

He dieth.

1553.

His Prayer.

O Lord God, *free me I beſeech thee out of this miſerable and calamitous life, and receive me among the number of thine Elect, if ſo be it be thy pleaſure: although not mine but thy Will be done. To thee* O Lord *do I commend my Spirit. Thou knoweſt* O Lord *how happy I ſhall be, may I live with thee in Heaven: yet would I might live and be well for thine Elects ſake, that I might faithfully ſerve thee.* O Lord God, *bleſs thy People, and ſave thine Inheritance.* O Lord God, *ſave thy People of* England, *defend this Kingdom from Popery, and preſerve thy true Religion in it, that I and my People may bleſs thy moſt Holy Name for thy Son* Jeſus Chriſt.

Then opening his Eyes, which he had hitherto cloſed, and ſeeing Doctor *Owen* the Phyſician (from whoſe report we have this Prayer) ſitting by, *Are you there?* (quoth he) *I had not thought you had been ſo near:* who anſwered, *I heard you ſpeak, but could not collect your words: Indeed* (replied the King) *I was making my Prayer to God.* A little after, he ſuddenly cryed out, *I faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and receive my Soul:* which words he had ſcarce ſpoken ere he departed. Much might be ſpoken in praiſe of this Prince, but regardful of my intended brevity, I will only give you a taſt of him out of *Cardan*, who about a year before travelling through *England* toward *Scotland*, was admitted to his preſence. The conference between them he thus deſcribeth. *Aderant illi* (ſpeaking of the King) *Gratia; Linguas enim multas callebat Puer*, &c. *He was ſtored with Graces; for being yet a Child he ſpake many Languages, his native* Engliſh, Latin, French, *and as I hear, was alſo skilled in the* Greek, Italian, Spaniſh, *and peradventure ſome others. He wanted neither the rudiments of* Logick, *the principles of* Philoſophy, *nor* Muſick: *He was full of Humanity the reliſh of Morality, of Gravity befitting Royalty, of hopes great as himſelf: A Child of ſo great Wit and ſuch Expectation could not be born, without a kind of Miracle in Nature. I write not this Rhetorically with the exceſs of an* Hyperbole; *for to ſpeak all the truth were to ſpeak far more. Being yet but in his fifteenth year, he ſpake* Latin *as readily and politely as I could. What* (ſaith he) *is the ſubject of your Books* De Rerum Varietate? (*I had dedicated them to his Majeſty*) Card. *In the firſt Chapter I ſhew the long hidden and vainly ſought after cauſes of Comets.* King. *And what is the cauſe?* Card. *The concourſe and meeting of the lights of the erratick Stars.* King. *But being the Planets are moved with ſeveral motions, how comes it to paſs, that the Comet doth not either preſently diſſolve and ſcatter, or move with their motion?* Card. *It moves indeed, but with a far ſwifter motion than the Planets, by reaſon of the diverſity of the aſpect, as we ſee in Cryſtal and the Sun when a Rainbow rebound upon a Wall, for a little change makes a great difference of the place.* King. *But how can that be done without a ſubject? for the Wall is the ſubject to the Rainbow.* Card. *As in the* Galaxia *or Milky-way, and in the reflection of lights when many Candles lighted are ſet near one another, they do*

Cardanus *Lib. de Genitur.*

1553.

do produce a certain lucid and bright mean. You may know the Lion by his paw, as they ſay. For his ingenuous nature and ſweet conditions he was great in the expectation of all either good or learned men. He began to favour Learning before he could know it, and knew it before he knew what uſe to make of it. O how true is that ſaying,

Immodicis brevis eſt ætas, & rara ſenectus:
Immoderate growths ſhort liv'd are, aged ſeld.

He could give you only a taſt of his Virtue, not an example. When occaſion required a Majeſtick gravity, you ſhould ſee him act an old man; in his affability and mildneſs he ſhewed his age. He plaid on the Lute, accuſtomed himſelf to publick affairs, was liberally diſpoſed, &c. So much *Cardan.* His Corps was on the ninth of *Auguſt* with no very great pomp interred at *Weſtminſter* near to his Grandfather *Henry* the Seventh.

And here had I with this King's death concluded this Second Part, had not the conſideration of a memorable Enterprize of this King's occurred. To *Sebaſtian Cabota* a *Portugueze*, for his admirable skill in *Coſmography* and the Art of *Navigation*, he allowed an Annuity of an hundred ſixty ſix Pounds. *Edward* by this *Cabota*'s perſwaſion on the twelfth of *May* ſet forth three Ships under Sir *Hugh Willoughby* for the diſcovery of unknown Regions in the North parts of the World. The main hope of this Voyage was, that way to open a ſhorter paſſage to thoſe vaſt Countries of the Eaſt, *Cathay* and *China*. Near upon the Coaſt of *Norway* theſe Ships were ſo ſevered by Tempeſt, that they never met again. One of theſe great Ships terrified with the greatneſs of irreſiſtable dangers, quickly returned home. Sir *Hugh Willoughby* arrived at laſt at a Countrey under the Latitude of ſeventy four degrees, not inhabited, hitherto to us unknown, and was forced to winter there, where he and all his Company were frozen to death. The Ship was afterward found by ſome the like *Engliſh* Adventurers, and in his Desk a writing relating the Adventures of each day, his Will alſo, by which it appeared that he lived until *January*. *Richard Chanceller* with the third Ship making a more proſperous Voyage, after many dangers and incertainties arrived at laſt among the *Ruſſes* and *Muſcovites*. To theſe parts ſome few years after he made a ſecond Voyage; but in his return ſuffered wreck on the *Scottiſh* Coaſt, where ſeeking to ſave the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador, he himſelf was drowned. Howſoever he were unfortunate, he opened a rich Vein of Traffick to ſucceeding times, whereby we have an exact diſcovery of that Countrey, and of the Manners of thoſe Heathen Chriſtians.

Sir Hugh Willoughby *frozen to death.*

Commerce with the Muſcovite.

F I N I S.



ANNALS OF ENGLAND. QUEEN MARY.

The Third Book.



LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Baſſet*, *John Wright*, and *Richard Chiſwel.*

M. DC. LXXV.

ANNALS OF ENGLAND.

Book III.

Queen MARY.

ANNO DOM. 1553. *REG.* 1.

1553.

When the Lady *Mary*, long ſince acquainted with *Northumberland*'s ſecret practices, was alſo certified of her Brother's deceaſe; not thinking it ſafe to abide near *London*, where her Enemies were in their full ſtrength; pretending a fear of the Plague by reaſon of the ſuſpitious death of one of her Houſhold, ſhe ſuddenly departed from St. *Edmundsbury*, and came in one day to *Framingham* Caſtle in *Suffolk*, diſtant from *London* fourſcore miles, and ſeated near the Sea, from whence if Fortune frowned on her, ſhe might make an eaſie eſcape into *France*. Here ſhe took upon her the Title of Queen, and by Letters to her Friends, and the Nobles, wiſhed their ſpeedy repair unto Her.

Lady Mary *flies into* Suffolk.

In the mean time *Northumberland* having for two days together conſulted with his Friends concerning the managing of this great buſineſs, the King's death being not yet publiſhed, ſent command to the Lord Mayor of *London*, to repair forthwith to *Greenwich* with ſix Aldermen, and twelve other Citizens of chiefeſt account. To them he declares the King's departure, and the ſeating of Lady *Jane* in the Throne of Sovereignty, ſhewing withal the King's Teſtament under Seal, which did import no leſs than the ſetling the Succeſſion on her and that Family:

1553. He cauſeth them either by terrour or promiſes to ſwear Allegiance to Lady *Jane*, with command, and that under a great penalty, that they ſhould not as yet divulge theſe ſecret paſſages. What a furtherance it might be to his Affairs if he could aſſure himſelf of this City, he was too wiſe to be ignorant of: And as for ſuppreſſing the report of the King's death; he thought it might prove a means to facilitate the ſurpriſal of the Lady *Mary*, as yet probably ſecure for lack of notice of her Brother's deceaſe. But underſtanding that ſhe had made an eſcape into *Suffolk*, Lady *Jane* was by almoſt all the Peers of the Realm pompouſly conducted to the *Tower*, and with great Solemnity publickly proclaimed Queen. She was of age about ſixteen, of feature not admirable but handſom, incredibly learned, very quick-witted, and wiſe both beyond her Sex and above her Age, wonderfully devoted to purity of Doctrine, and ſo far from deſire of this Advancement, that ſhe began not to act her part of Royalty without Tears, manifeſting it to the World, that ſhe was forced by her Parents and Friends ambition to this high but dangerous Aſcent. At her going through the City toward the *Tower*, the Concourſe of the People was great, their Acclamations few, as if the ſtrangeneſs of ſome new Spectacle had drawn them together, rather than any intent of Gratulation. Which Queen *Maries* (for ſo we muſt henceforth call her) Friends hitherto diſtruſtful more of Succeſs than the Cauſe, accepted of as an happy *omen*, and were encouraged to aſſiſt her as occaſion ſhould invite them. But the preſence of *Northumberland* a man quick, watchful, and very politick, was yet a *remora* to their Proceedings: Him they muſt ſend farther off, or be content to ſit ſtill.

Lady Jane *proclaimed Queen.*

The ſame day that Lady *Jane* entred the *Tower* Letters ſent from Queen *Mary* are read openly at the Council Table, wherein ſhe commands the Lords to repair to her, as being the next in Succeſſion to the Crown, and that they at laſt ſhould take example from the general Votes of the Kingdom, ſhe being now every where acknowledged the lawful Sovereign. And indeed the *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* men were become hers; and the wiſer ſort did eaſily diſcern, that the affections of the People were hers. Wherefore it was thought at firſt expedient ſpeedily to levy an Army, and that, while yet the Hearts of the People were free from any Impreſſion, and their Minds yet equally poiſed in the Ballance of Irreſolution, were either way to be ſwayed: By this courſe they might be peradventure too ſtrong for the Queen, and preventing her Plea by Arms, force her to plead more neceſſarily for her Life. And an Army was raiſed, whereof the Duke of *Suffolk* was appointed General.

But the fautors of *Maries* Cauſe, whoſe main Project was to remove that grand obſtacle the Duke of *Northumberland*, ſlily

inſinuating

1553.

inſinuating themſelves with Lady *Jane*, perſwaded her not to part with her Father, but to diſpatch *Northumberland* for this Employment, the very terrour of whoſe Name (his late Victory over the *Norfolk* Rebels being yet freſh in memory) would effect more, than the other could either by Policy or Arms: And indeed to whoſe truſt could a Daughter be better committed than to her Father's? As for the City, the Faith and wonted Wiſdom of the Council now with her, would contain it in Obedience, and work it to her beſt Advantages. She poor Lady ſwayed with theſe Reaſons, earneſtly beſeeched *Northumberland* himſelf to undergo this Burthen, who at length though unwillingly conſented. His chief fear was, leſt the advantage of his Abſence might encourage oppoſite Practiſers to raiſe ſome Tumults: But finding either excuſes or abſolute denials no way available, he prepares himſelf for this Expedition, and on the the thirteenth of *July* ſets forth from *London*, with an Army of ſix thouſand. At his departure it is reported he ſhould ſay to the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* who then accompanied him, *Do you ſee (my Lord) what a conflux of People here is drawn together to ſee us march? And yet of all this multitude, you hear not ſo much as one that wiſheth us Succeſs.* The *Londoners* ſtood very well affected in point of Religion, ſo did alſo for the moſt part the *Suffolk* and the *Norfolk* men, and they knew *Mary* to be abſolute for Popery. But the *Engliſh* are in their due reſpects to their Prince ſo loyally conſtant, that no regards, no not pretext of Religion, can alienate their Affections from their lawful Sovereign, whereof the miſerable caſe of Lady *Jane* will anon give a memorable Example. For although her Faction had laid a ſtrong Foundation, and as may appear by the premiſſes, had moſt artificially raiſed their Superſtructure; yet as ſoon as the true and undoubted Heir did but manifeſt her Reſolution to vindicate her Right, this accurate Pile preſently fell, and diſſolved as it were in the twinkling of an Eye, and that chiefly by their endeavour, of whom for their Religions ſake Lady *Jane* might have preſumed her ſelf aſſured. Neither were the People made any thing the more inclinable by publickly impugning Queen *Maries* Right in the Pulpit, a courſe wherein *Northumberland* engaged many a Preacher. Nay, even in the City of *London*, that learned and godly Prelate *Nicholas Ridley* upon the deprivation of *Boner* conſecrated Biſhop of *London* (who I wiſh had not erred in this matter) was ſcarce heard out with patience. As for Queen *Mary*, if that Rule of the Civilians be not true, that * *Matrimony contracted without any conceived Impediment, although it after chance to be diſſolved as unlawful, is of ſuch force, that the Children begotten in ſuch Wedlock are to be accounted lawful:* Yet why they ſhould ſeek to exclude the Lady *Elizabeth*, I cannot but wonder, neither can I think that any probable reaſon therefore could be yielded by them, who deemed Queen *Mary* Illegitimate.

Northumberland *forced to be General.*

* *L. qui in provinciâ, ſect. Divus, ff. de Rit Nupt. L. 4. C. de Inceſt. Nupt. & Gloſſ. ibid. C. cum inter. &c. ex tenore. Extr. qui fil. ſint legit.*

1553. To let paſs alſo in the mean time *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, to whom without doubt, the Iſſue of *Henry* the Eighth being extinct, the Crown properly belonged. Whatſoever the Reaſons urged by theſe Preachers were, they were ſo far from making any impreſſion in the minds of the People, that they every where flocked abundantly to Queen *Mary*: and this not out of a vulgar levity, many of the Nobility and other prime men having followed her Party even from the beginning; ſuch were the Earls of *Bath* and *Suſſex*, the Heirs of the Lords *Wharton* and *Mordant*, Sir *William Drury*, Sir *John Shelton*, Sir *Henry Bedingfeild*, Sir *Henry Jernegam*, *Sulierd*, *Freſton*, and others. But above all Sir *Edward Haſtings* Brother to the Earl of *Huntingdon* was moſt famous, who having Commiſſion from the Duke of *Northumberland* to raiſe four thouſand Foot, after he had levied them, revolted to Queen *Mary*: For which act ſhe afterward created him Baron of *Lowborough*, honouring alſo Sir *John Williams* with another Barony, as a reward of his faithful Service. And Serjeant *Morgan* not coming ſhort of theſe in his devoir, became afterward one of the chief Judges of the Realm.

But an unexpected Accident did moſt advantage Queen *Maries* Affairs. Six Ships had *Northumberland* ſet forth on that part of the Kingdom, where it is confined with the *German* Ocean, that he might intercept the Queen, if ſhe ſought to make an eſcape, and to have them ready for all occaſions. Theſe Ships were then by Tempeſt driven in at *Yarmouth*, when in the Town there was a Preſs of Souldiers for the Queen. The Mariners and Souldiers induced partly by threats, partly by intreaty, yield the Ships to Sir *Henry Jernegam* for Queen *Maries* uſe, and aſſociate themſelves with the new raiſed Companies. This was to her a matter of great conſequence, and that ſuch ſhe deemed it, her joy well teſtified. And now encouraged with theſe acceſſions of Men, Ordnance, and Munition, ſhe feared not *Northumberland*, and reſolved not ſo much her own defence, as the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of her Competitrix.

The Lords who had hitherto adhered to Lady *Jane* were ſomewhat terrified with this adverſe accident. And the Queens Friends living at Court who had reſerved themſelves for opportunity, and were as yet concealed, were now ſo emboldened as to reveal themſelves to each other, deſiring nothing more than that being ſet at liberty (for yet the *Tower* was the Court) they might but gain entrance into the City, that they might more freely diſcover themſelves. But they muſt either make the way, or be content to pray only for her, whom they could not otherwiſe advantage. It happened that *Northumberland* had written for more Aids. At his ſetting forth he was, beſides his four Sons, accompanied with the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, the Lord *Gray*, and many other perſons of note; and had when

when he came to *Cambridge* an Army conſiſting of eight thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe. Removing thence toward St. *Edmondsbury*, he found that many of his Souldiers had forſaken their Colours, and was wonderfully jealous leſt of the remainder many would do the like. Wherefore returning to *Cambridge*, he plied the Lords of the Council with continual demands of ſupplies to fill his Companies grown thin by the departure of ſo many fugitives. The Lords that favoured *Maries* Cauſe laying hold on this occaſion, obſequiouſly tendring their Services for the furtherance of the Duke's deſigns, decree ſpeedy Aids for him; but pretend, that it were dangerous to employ any other in theſe Levies, than ſuch of whoſe Loyalty they might reſt aſſured, leſt the like Treachery might be committed as had been already by Sir *Edward Haſtings*; and proffer themſelves for the execution of this Affair. So by the Duke of *Suffolk* his permiſſion they all let looſe as it were out of Priſon, diſperſe themſelves over the City. The chiefeſt of them that were reſolved for the Queen, were the Marquis of *Wincheſter* Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Arundell* (whom after a years Impriſonment with the Lord *Paget*, the Duke of *Northumberland* had lately ſet at liberty) and Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Lord Warden of the *Cinque Ports*. By the induſtry of theſe, as many of the Lords of the Council as were within call (excepting the Duke of *Suffolk*) and as many other of the Nobility as were known to be at leaſt not Enemies to Queen *Maries* Cauſe, had a meeting at *Baynards-Caſtle*, under pretence of conference with the *French* Ambaſſador *Lavall*, about I know not what important buſineſs: But indeed to conſult of a mean how to reduce Lady *Jane* to her firſt original of a Private fortune. There *Henry* Earl of *Arundell* bitterly inveighing againſt the Duke of *Northumberland*, after he had ripped up the Acts of former times, and burthened him with all that had been done unjuſtly, cruelly, or amiſs in the Reign of King *Edward*; he at laſt comes to that treacherous act of the Diſheriſon of the Children of *Henry* the Eighth, profeſſing that *He wondred how he had ſo enthralled ſuch Perſonages* (intimating thoſe Nobles preſent) *as to make them Inſtruments of his Wickedneſs: For by their conſent and ſuffrages it came to paſs, that the Duke of* Suffolk's *Daughter, the ſame* Northumberland's *Daughter-in-Law, did now perſonate a Queen, the groſs and power of Sovereignty remaining indeed with* Northumberland, *that he might freely wreak his Tyranny on their Lives and Fortunes. Religion is indeed the thing pretended: But ſuppoſe we have no regard to theſe Apoſtolical Rules*, Evil muſt not be done that good may come thereof, *and* We muſt obey even evil Princes not for fear, but for conſcience ſake; *yet how doth it appear that* Mary *intends any alteration in Religion? Certainly having been lately Petitioned unto in this point by the* Suffolk *men, ſhe gave them* (and that was true) *a very hopeful anſwer. And what a mad blindneſs it*

1553.

No Numberland *forſaken by his Souldiers.*

1553. *it is, for the avoidance of an uncertain Danger, to precipitate our ſelves into moſt certain Deſtruction? I would we had not erred in this kind. But Errours paſt cannot be recalled, ſome may peradventure be amended, wherein ſpeedy execution oftimes happily ſupplieth former defects. Recollect your ſelves then, and ſo make uſe of your Authority, that* Mary *the undoubtedly lawful Heir may be publickly Proclaimed.*

The Lords reſolve for Queen Mary, After he had ſpoken to this purpoſe, the Earl of *Pembroke* readily and generouſly profeſſed that he ſubſcribed to the Earl of *Arundell*'s motion, and graſping his Sword, ſignified his Reſolution to maintain the Right of *Mary* againſt all Oppoſers. The reſt take after them, and decree the ſame. So commanding the repair of the Lord Mayor and the reſt of the Aldermen, they in *Cheapſide* proclaim Lady *Mary* Queen, with addition alſo of the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church.* And to add more majeſty to their act by ſome devout Solemnity, they go in Proceſſion to *Pauls* ſinging that admirable Hymn of thoſe holy Fathers St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Auguſtine*, commonly known by its firſt words, *Te Deum.*

And to ſuppreſs Lady Jane. Then they diſpatcht away ſome Companies to ſeize on the *Tower*, and command the Duke of *Suffolk* to render himſelf. The Duke as eaſily dejected at the news, as he had formerly been elevated by vain hope, entring his Daughters Chamber, forbad the farther uſe of Royal Ceremonies, wiſhing her to be content with her return to a Private fortune. Whereto ſhe anſwered with a ſetled countenance: *Sir, I better brook this meſſage, than my forced advancement to Royalty; out of obedience to you and my Mother I have grievouſly ſinned, and offered violence to my ſelf: Now I do willingly, and as obeying the motions of my Soul, relinquiſh the Crown, and endeavour to ſalve thoſe faults committed by others, if at leaſt ſo great an errour may be ſalved by a willing relinquiſhment and ingenuous acknowledgement.* Having ſpoken thus much, ſhe retired into a withdrawing-room, more troubled at the Danger ſhe had incurred, than the defeaſance of ſo great hopes. The Duke himſelf preſently repaired to the reſt of the Council, and ſubſcribed to their Decree. This Proclamation was on the nineteenth of *July* publiſhed, and entertained with ſuch Acclamations, that no part of it could be heard, after the firſt mention of Queen *Maries* Name. The Earl of *Arundell* and the Lord *Paget* having thus ordered this weighty Affair, accompanied with thirty Horſe, rid poſt that night unto the Queen, to certifie her of the gladſom tidings of her Subjects loyal intentions.

Northumberland *proclaims* Mary *Queen at* Cambridge. In the mean time the Lords of the Council certifie *Northumberland* of theſe Paſſages, commanding him withal to ſubſcribe to the Decree, and diſmiſs his Army. But he out of the Preſage of his own Fortune had before the receipt of their Letters proclaimed her Queen at *Cambridge*, where in a counterfeit joy he threw up his Cap with the ſincerer multitude. Then he caſhiered the reſt of his wavering Companies, and almoſt all the Lords,

Lords, who had hitherto followed him, with a Legal Revolt paſſing over to the Queen, and making *Northumberland* the ſole author and cauſe of theſe diſloyal Diſtractions, were upon their Submiſſion pardoned. 1553.

Lady *Jane*, having as on a Stage for ten days only perſonated a Queen, was committed to ſafe cuſtody, and the Ladies who had hitherto attended her, were commanded each to their homes. The Duke of *Northumberland* was by the Queens command apprehended by the Earl of *Arundell*, and committed to the *Tower*. The manner of his taking is reported to have been thus: After ſo many checks uncertain what courſe to take, reſolved to flie, but not knowing whether, the Penſioners (who with their Captain Sir *John Gates* had followed him in this Expedition) while he was pulling on his Boots ſeiſed on him, ſaying, that *It was fit they ſhould excuſe themſelves from the imputation of Treaſon by his teſtimony.* The Duke withſtanding them, and the matter being likely to grow to blows, at the very inſtant came thoſe Letters from the Council, which commanded them all to lay aſide their Arms, and peaceably to repair to their homes. Theſe Letters took up the matter, and ſet the Duke at liberty, which notwithſtanding laſted not long. For the next morning, as he was ready to take Horſe, the Earl of *Arundell* intercepted him, and with him apprehended the Earl of *Huntingdon*, the Earl of *Warwick Northumberland*'s eldeſt Son, and two others younger Lord *Ambroſe* and Lord *Henry Dudley*, Sir *Andrew Dudley* the Duke's Brother, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *John Gates*, his Brother *Henry Gates* and Doctor *Edwin Sands*, who on the five and twentieth of *July* were brought to *London*, and preſently committed to the *Tower*. The Earl of *Huntingdon* was, not long after, ſet at liberty, but his Son was preſently. Sir *John Gates*, whom *Northumberland* accuſed to have been the contriver of all this miſchief, and Sir *Thomas Palmer* were after Executed. The Earl of *Warwick* died in Priſon. The Lords *Ambroſe* and *Henry Dudley* were Pardoned. *Henry* was afterward ſlain with a ſhot at the Siege of St. *Quintin*; but *Ambroſe* finding Fortune more propitious, outlived *Mary*, and by Queen *Elizabeth* created Earl of *Warwick*, long flouriſhed in the happineſs of her Favour. Sir *Andrew Dudley* after his Condemnation was alſo Pardoned. Doctor *Sands* being then Vicechancellour of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* had by *Northumberland*'s command in the Pulpit publickly impugned Queen *Maries* Cauſe, and defended that of Lady *Jane*; but with that Wiſdom and Moderation, although upon the ſhort warning of ſome few hours, that he abundantly ſatisfied the Duke, and yet did not ſo deeply incur the diſpleaſure of the adverſe part, but that his Friends prevailed with the Queen for his Pardon. So that after a years Impriſonment he was ſet at liberty, and preſently fled over into *Germany*: After the death of Queen *Mary* returning

Northumberland, *and ſome other Lords taken.*

1553. returning from his voluntary Exile, he was Conſecrated Biſhop of *Worceſter*, from which See he was tranſlated to *London*, and thence again to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*: A man for his Learning, Virtue, Wiſdom, and Extract very famous, but moſt eſpecially happy in his Iſſue, whereof many were admirable for their Endowments both internal and external, and of whom we have in our Age ſeen three honoured with Knighthood.

On the ſix and twentieth of *July*, the Marquis of *Northampton* (afterward Condemned, and Pardoned) Doctor *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, (who two years after was Burned at *Oxford*) and beſide many others, Lord *Robert Dudley* that great Earl of *Leiceſter* under Queen *Elizabeth*, were brought to the *Tower*. On the ſeven and twentieth, the Duke of *Suffolk* (to whom the Queen with admirable Clemency within four days reſtored his liberty) Sir *John Cheeke* King *Edward*'s Schoolmaſter, Sir *Roger Cholmley* Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and Sir *Edmond Mountague* Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, were committed to the ſame place, who were all on the third of *September* ſet at liberty.

On the thirtieth of *July* the Lady *Elizabeth* accompanied by a great train of Nobles, Knights, Gentlemen and Ladies (to the number of five hundred, ſome ſay a thouſand) ſet forward from the *Strand* through *London*, and ſo to *Wanſted*, towards the Queen to congratulate her happy Succeſs in vindicating her Right to the Crown. Who on the third of *Auguſt* having diſmiſſed her Army (which had not yet exceeded the number of thirteen thouſand) attended by all the Nobility made a triumphant entrance through *London* to the *Tower*, where the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Edward Courtney* Son to the Marquis of *Exceter* Beheaded in the year 1538, *Gardiner* late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Anne* Ducheſs of *Somerſet* preſented themſelves on their Knees, and *Gardiner* in the name of them all ſpake a congratulatory Oration, which ended, the Queen courteouſly raiſed them, and kiſſing each of them ſaid, *Theſe are all my own Priſoners*, and gave order for their preſent diſcharge. *Edward Courtney* ſhe reſtored to his Father's honours, making him Marquis of *Exceter*. As for *Gardiner*, ſhe not only reſeated him in the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, but alſo on the three and twentieth of *Auguſt* made him Lord Chancellour of *England*, notwithſtanding that he had not only Subſcribed to the Divorce from *Catharine* the Queens Mother, but had Publiſhed Books, wherein he had defended King *Henry*'s proceedings.

Queen Mary *comes to* London.

Gardiner *made Lord Chancellour.*

Deprived Biſhops reſtored.

On the fifth of *Auguſt*, *Boner* and *Tonſtall* who had been formerly deprived of their Biſhopricks, the one of *London*, the other of *Dureſm*, and ſhortly after *Day* of *Chicheſter*, and *Heath* of *Worceſter* were enlarged and reſtored to their Biſhopricks, the preſent Incumbents being without due proceſs of Law ejected.

King Edward's *Funeral.*

On the tenth of *Auguſt*, were celebrated the Exequies of King *Edward*, *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* Preaching, executing in *Engliſh*, and

and adminiſtring the Sacrament according to the manner and form received in the Reign of *Edward*. For as yet nothing had been determined concerning any change in point of Religion. So that when *Bourn* a Canon of *Pauls* (afterward Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*) Preaching at the *Croſs*, did inveigh againſt the Reformation in King *Edward*'s time, and did in upbraiding manner argue the Injuſtice of thoſe times, which condemned *Bonner* to perpetual Imprisonment for matter delivered by him in that place that time four year, who was now by a more juſt Clemency reſtored to his Liberty and Dignity: The People inured to the Proteſtant Religion, could hardly abſtain from ſtoning him, and one of them aiming a Poinyard at him, miſſed him very narrowly: The affections of the Aſſembly may by this be conceived, that during the Reign of Queen *Mary*, the Author of this bold attempt, notwithſtanding the diligence of earneſt Inquiſitors, could never be diſcovered. The uproar increaſing, and divers preſſing toward the Pulpit, *Bourn* protected by two Proteſtant Preachers (*Bradford* and *Rogers*, who were greatly Reverenced by the People, and afterward Burned for their Religion) was with great difficulty conveyed to the School at *Pauls*. 1553.

The Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Warwick, and the Marquis of Northampton condemned.

And now at length on the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Norfolk* ſitting as High Steward of *England*, were the Duke of *Northumberland*, his Son the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Marquis of *Northampton* Arraigned at *Weſtminſter*: where the Duke of *Northumberland* pleading, that he had done nothing but by authority of the Council, his Plea being not admitted for ſufficient, he was condemned of High Treaſon. The Sentence being pronounced, he craved the favour of ſuch a Death as was uſually executed on Noblemen, and not the other: He beſeeched alſo, that a favourable regard might be had of his Children, in reſpect of their age: Thirdly, that he might be permitted to confer with ſome learned Divine for the ſetling of his Conſcience: And laſtly, that her Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſend unto him four of her Council for the diſcovery of ſome things, which might concern the Eſtate. The Marquis of *Northampton* pleaded to his Indictment, that after the beginning of theſe Tumults he had forborn the Execution of any Publick Office, and that all that while, intent to Hunting and other ſports, he did not partake in the Conſpiracy: But it being manifeſt, that he was party with the Duke of *Northumberland*, Sentence paſſed on him likewiſe. The Earl of *Warwick* finding that the Judges in ſo great a Cauſe admitted not excuſe of Age, with great reſolution heard his Condemnation pronounced, craving only this favour, that, whereas the Goods of thoſe who were condemned for Treaſon, are totally Confiſcated, yet her Majeſty would be pleaſed, that out of them his Debts might be diſcharged. After this, they were all again returned to the *Tower*. The next day Sir *Andrew Dudley*,

1553.

Sir *John Gates* (who was thought in *Northumberland*'s favour to have projected the Adoption of Lady *Jane*) Sir *Henry Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer* were likewiſe condemned. On the two and twentieth of the ſame month, the Duke with the reſt (having two days before received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper) were conducted to the place of Execution: Where *Northumberland* (ſaith that excellent Hiſtoriographer, *Thuanus*) by the perſwaſion of *Nicholas Heath* (afterward Biſhop of *York*) making his own Funeral Oration to the People, acknowledged himſelf guilty, and craving pardon for his unſeaſonable Ambition, admoniſhed the Aſſembly, *That they ſhould embrace the Religion of their Forefathers rejecting that of later date, which had occaſioned all the Miſeries of the fore-paſſed thirty years: And for prevention for the future, if they deſired to preſent their Souls unſpotted to God, and were truly affected to their Countrey, they ſhould expel thoſe Trumpets of Sedition, the Preachers of the Reformed Religion. As for himſelf, whatſoever he might pretend, his Conſcience was fraught with the Religion of his Fathers, and for teſtimony hereof he appealed to his great Friend the Biſhop of* Wincheſter: *but being blinded with Ambition, he had been contented to make wrack of his Conſcience by temporizing, for which he profeſſed himſelf ſincerely repentant, and acknowledged the deſert of his death.* Having ſpoken thus much, he craved the charitable Devotions of the Aſſembly, and commending his Soul to God, prepared his Body for the ſtroke of Ax. This Recantation did variouſly affect the minds of the multitude, who wondred that he ſhould at laſt Apoſtatize from that Religion which he had for ſixteen years profeſſed, and in favour whereof chiefly, he perſwaded King *Edward* to endeavour the excluſion of his Siſters from their lawful Succeſſion. Some write, that being deſirous of life, he did it craftily out of hope of impunity: but that hope being fruſtrated, to have repented it afterwards. He was ſuſpected (neither were the preſumptions ſmall) to have adminiſtred a Poiſonous potion to King *Edward*: but in his Indictment there was no mention of it, and that the rather, for that the Judges had authority only to inflict Puniſhment on him for his Conſpiracy againſt the Queen. At the ſame time and place were alſo Executed Sir *John Gates* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*.

The Duke of Northumberland *Beheaded.*

Biſhops impriſoned.

Many Biſhops alſo, who were thought to have been too too opinionate in point of Religion, were ſent for to *London*, and there Impriſoned, *viz.* *Hooper* of *Gloceſter*, *Farrar* of St. *Davies* (who were both crowned with Martyrdom) and *Coverdale* of *Exceter*, who at the requeſt of *Chriſtiern* the Third King of *Denmark* was Pardoned. But the Clergy of what rank ſoever, who would not forſake their Wives, or were inveſted in Livings, whereof any one had been for defence of Popery deprived, or that would not by Oath promiſe the defence of the *Romiſh* Religion, were generally forced to relinquiſh their Benefices.

Peter

Peter Martyr was then Profeſſor at *Oxford*, who preſently upon the Death of King *Edward*, was confined to his Houſe. But after ſome time his Friends ſo far prevailed, that he might come to *London*, where he betook himſelf to his Patron the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But he could not prove a Sanctuary to him. The Archbiſhop himſelf began now to totter. The Queen, beſide that ſhe was wholly ſwayed by *Gardiner*, who extremely hated him, had reſolved to wreak her ſelf on him for the Divorce of her Mother. 1554. Peter Martyr.

——— *Manet alta mente repoſtum*
Judicium latum, ſpretaque injuria Matris.

It is reported, that King *Henry* having determined to puniſh his Daughter the Lady *Mary* with Impriſonment for her Contumacy, was by the ſole interceſſion of *Cranmer* diverted from his Reſolutions: And when ſhe was by her Brother King *Edward* to be diſinherited, the Archbiſhop made a long ſuaſory Oration to the contrary; neither could he be induced to ſubſcribe to the Decree, until the Judges of the Realm generally affirming, that it might lawfully be done, the dying King with much importunity prevailed with him. In ingrateful perſons the conceit (I will not ſay the feeling) of one Injury makes deeper impreſſion, than can the remembrance of a thouſand real Benefits. It was now bruited, that with his Fortune *Cranmer* had alſo changed his Religion, inſomuch that to gratifie the Queen, he had promiſed to Celebrate the Exequies of the deceaſed King after the *Romiſh* manner. To clear himſelf of this imputation, he by writing declares himſelf ready to maintain the Articles of Religion ſet forth by his means under King *Edward* his Reign, to be conſonant to the Word of God and the Doctrine of the Apoſtles: in which Reſolution he being confirmed by *Peter Martyr*, required him for his Second in this Religious Duel. But Words are not regarded, where Violence is intended. His Death was abſolutely determined; but how it might be fairly contrived, was not yet reſolved. Firſt therefore they deal with him as a Traytor. And having for ſome while continued priſoner in the *Tower*, to alienate the minds of the People who held him in high eſteem, he is on the thirteenth of *November* together with the Lords *Ambroſe* and *Guilford Dudley*, and Lady *Jane*, condemned for Treaſon. But the machinators of this miſchief againſt *Cranmer* were ſo aſhamed of their ſhadowleſs endeavour, that they themſelves became Interceſſors for his Pardon, and yet afterwards moſt irreligiouſly procured him to be Burned for pretended Hereſie. Before he was committed to Cuſtody, his Friends perſwaded him, after the example of ſome other of his religious Brethren, who had long ſince eſcaped into *Germany*, by flight to withdraw himſelf from aſſured deſtruction: To whom he anſwered; *Were I accuſed of Theft, Parricide, or*

The Archbiſhop Cranmer, *Lady* Jane, *Lord* Guilford *and Lord* Ambroſe Dudley *condemned.*

1553. *ſome other crime, although I were innocent, I might peradventure be induced to ſhift for my ſelf: But being queſtioned for my Allegiance not to men, but to God, the truth of whoſe holy Word is to be aſſerted againſt the errours of Popery; I have at this time, with a conſtancy befitting a Chriſtian Prelate, reſolved rather to leave my life, than the Kingdom.* But we will now leave *Cranmer* in Priſon, whoſe farther Troubles and Martyrdom we will in their due places relate. Concerning *Peter Martyr*, it was long controverted at the Council Table whether, having ſo much prejudiced the Catholick Religion, it were fit he ſhould be proceeded againſt as an Heretick. But it was at length determined, that becauſe he came into *England* upon Publick Aſſurance, he ſhould have liberty to depart with his Family. So having Letters of Paſs ſigned by the Queen, he was tranſported with his Friend *Bernardine Ochinus*, and came to *Antwerp*, from thence to *Colen*, at laſt to *Straſburg*, from whence he firſt ſet forth for *England*.

The Coronation. In the mean time on the firſt of *October*, the Queen was with great pomp Crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and that after the manner of her Anceſtors.

On the fifth of the ſame month a Parliament is called at *Weſtminſter*, wherein all the Laws Enacted againſt the Pope and his adherents by *Henry* and *Edward*, were repealed. And in the Convocation-Houſe at the ſame time was a long and eager Diſputation concerning the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the Prolocutor Dr. *Weſton* with many others maintaining *Chriſt*'s Corporal real preſence in the Sacrament: Among thoſe few who ſided with the Truth, were *John Ailmer* and *Richard Cheyney* (both by Queen *Elizabeth* made Biſhops, the one of *London*, the other of *Gloceſter*) *John Philpot* Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, who confirmed this Doctrine with the Teſtimony of his Blood, *James Haddon* Dean of *Exceter*, and *Walter Philips* Dean of *Rocheſter*. At length the Truth was oppreſſed by Multitude not Reaſon. Whereupon the Reſtitution of *Romiſh* Rites is again concluded, and on the one and twentieth of *December*, Maſs began to be celebrated throughout *England*.

A Diſputation in the Convocation-Houſe.

Popery reſtored.

The ſame day alſo the Marquis of *Northampton* and Sir *Henry Gates* not long ſince Condemned, were ſet at liberty and Pardoned: And the Lords *Ambroſe* and *Guilford Dudley* with Lady *Jane* had their Impriſonment more at large, with hope of Pardon alſo.

ANNO DOM. 1554. *REG.* 1, & 2.

1554. THe Queen, who was now Thirty ſeven years old, and hitherto thought averſe from Marriage, either in regard of her own Natural inclination, or conſcious to her ſelf of the want of ſuch Beauty as might endear a Husband to her; her Affairs

The Queen inclines to marry.

ſo

ſo requiring, began at length to bethink her of an Husband. She feared, leſt the conſideration of her Sexes imbecility might bring her into contempt with her People, ſhe being yet ſcarce ſetled in her Throne, and the Kingdom ſtill diſtracted in their Affections to ſeveral Competitors. Fame had deſtined three for her Bed, *Philip* Infant of *Spain* the Emperour's Son, Cardinal *Pool*, and the Marquis of *Exceter*. The two laſt were propoſed for their Royal Deſcent, and the opinion of the Love of their Countrey, there being hope, that under them the Freedom, and the Priviledges of the Kingdom might be preſerved inviolate. But beſides proximity of Blood in each of the three, Cardinal *Pool* was much affected by the Queen, for his gravity, ſanctimony, meekneſs, and wiſdom, *Courtney* for his flouriſhing youth, his courteous and pleaſant diſpoſition. But he I know not how, was ſomewhat ſuſpected, not to think ſincerely of the late eſtabliſhed Religion, but to have favoured the Reformed. And the Cardinal being now in his fiftieth and third year, was deemed a little too old to be a Father of Children. But their opinion prevailed, as more neceſſary, who thought this unſetled Kingdom would require a puiſſant King, who ſhould be able to curb the factious Subject, and by Sea and Land oppoſe the *French* by the accrue of *Scotland* become too near Neighbours and Enemies to us. Upon theſe motives the ambitious Lady was eaſily induced to conſent to a match with *Philip*. For the Treaty whereof the Emperour had about the end of the laſt year, ſent on a grand Embaſſage *Lamoralle* Count *Egmond*, with whom *Charles* Count *Lalaine*, and *John Montmorency* were joyned in Commiſſion. In *January* the Ambaſſadors arrived at *London*, and in a few days conclude the Marriage, the Conditions whereof were theſe: 1554.

The Articles of the Queens Marriage with Philip *of* Spain.

That Matrimony being contracted between Philip *and* Mary, *it ſhould be lawful for* Philip *to uſurp the Titles of all the Kingdoms and Provinces belonging to his Wife, and ſhould be joynt-Governour with her over thoſe Kingdoms, the Priviledges and Cuſtoms thereof always preſerved inviolate, and the full and free diſtribution of Biſhopricks, Benefices, Favours, Offices always remaining entire to the Queen. That the Queen likewiſe ſhould be aſſumed into the ſociety of all the Realms, wherein* Philip *either then was, or ſhould be afterward inveſted. That if She ſurvived* Philip, *ſixty thouſand Pounds* per annum, *ſhould be aſſigned for her Joynture, as had been formerly aſſigned to Lady* Margaret *Siſter to* Edward *the Fourth and Widow to* Charles *Duke of* Burgoigne, *whereof forty thouſand ſhould be raiſed out of* Spain *and* Arragon, *twenty thouſand out of the* Netherlands *and the Provinces thereto belonging. And to prevent all future Jars and Contentions about the Diviſion of the Inheritance of the Kingdoms and Provinces which either then were or afterward ſhould be belonging to either, it is agreed, That the Iſſue begotten by this Marriage ſhould*

1554. *ſhould ſucceed in all the Queens Kingdoms and Dominions, and in all the Principalities of the* Netherlands *and* Burgoigne, *whereof the Emperour did ſtand poſſeſſed: That* Charles *the eldeſt Son to* Philip *by a former Marriage ſhould likewiſe ſucceed in all the Kingdoms as well of his Father, as of his Grandmother, and his Grandfather the Emperour, both in* Italy *and* Spain, *and by reaſon thereof ſhould ſtand obliged for the Payment of the 'fore-mentioned forty thouſand Pounds. If by this Matrimony no other Iſſue ſhall be begotten than Female, the Eldeſt ſhall ſucceed in all the Provinces of the* Netherlands, *but with this Caution, that by the counſel and conſent of her Brother* Charles, *ſhe ſhall make choice of an Husband either out of* England *or the* Netherlands; *if ſhe marry from elſewhere without his conſent, ſhe ſhall be deprived of her right of Succeſſion, and* Charles *be inveſted therein. But to her and her Siſters a convenient Dowry ſhall be aſſigned according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the places. If it happen that* Charles, *or his Succeſſours ſhall die without Iſſue; in that caſe the Firſt-born by this Marriage, although it be a Female, ſhall ſucceed in all the Kingdoms belonging to both theſe Princes, as well of the* Netherlands, *as of* Spain, *and in all the Principalities of* Italy; *and ſhall be bound to preſerve inviolate all the Laws, Priviledges, Immunities and Cuſtoms of each Kingdom. Between the Emperour,* Philip, *and his Heirs, between the Queen, and her Children and Heirs, and between both their Realms and Dominions, conſtant Amity, Concord, a perpetual and inviolable League ſhall be continued. This League, Agreement, and Articles ſhall be renewed and confirmed at* Weſtminſter *the two and fortieth year of this* * Seculum, *and four years after on the ſixteenth of* January *at* Utrecht.

* *Which, as I conceive, would have fallen in the year* 1588.

As ſoon as the Decree concerning theſe Nuptial Compacts was divulged, many out of a reſtleſs diſpoſition miſliking the preſent times, but eſpecially traducing the intent of this Accord, as if by it the *Spaniard* were to become abſolute Lord of all, who ſhould have the free managing of all Affairs, and aboliſhing our ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, would impoſe an intolerable yoak, as on a conquered Nation. This was the general conceit of this Action. But in private, every one according to their divers humours did mutter diverſly: Some cenſuring the Queens actions, others complaining of the change of Religion contrary to her promiſe made to the *Suffolk* men: Some lamented the caſe of Lady *Jane*, who had been forcibly depoſed, and cruelly condemned to an ill-deſerved Death. Some were ſwayed by pity, ſome by the regard of Religion, but moſt by the fear of a *Spaniſh* Servitude: And others were by their own hopes and the deſire of change animated to a Rebellion. A Chieftain only was wanting, which defect was quickly ſupplied by Sir *Thomas Wyat* a Knight of *Kent*. Who having communicated the matter with the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Peter Carow* of *Devonſhire*, and ſome others, concluded that it would not be expedient to attempt any thing until the

Sir Thomas Wyat's *Rebellion.*

the arrival of *Philip*, that ſo they might not ſeem to have taken Arms to any other end, than to ſecure their Countrey from the Uſurpation of a Forein Prince. So reſerving themſelves for opportunity, they diſperſe themſelves into ſeveral places: *Wyat* into *Kent* a Countrey adjoyning to *London*, and disjoyned from *Calais* by a little fret of Sea; Sir *Peter Carow* into *Devonſhire*, a part of *England* in the Weſt oppoſite to the main of *France*; and the Duke of *Suffolk* withdrew himſelf to his Place in *Warwickſhire*, ſituated in the very heart of the Realm. In theſe ſeveral places, they ſecretly furniſh themſelves with Arms, Money, and all ſorts of Munition, and ſeek to draw others to partake in the Conſpiracy. Sir *Peter Carow*, whether thruſt on by his Fate, or thinking delay would prove dangerous, began ſecretly to levy ſome Forces in *Cornwall*, but the matter being ſooner detected than was hoped, and he quickly oppreſſed, he preſently took Ship, and fled into *France*, where he lurked ſome time, until at length being ſeemingly reconciled to the King, he was taken at *Bruſſels*, and brought Captive into *England*. By what means he afterward made an eſcape I know not. But he flouriſhed many years under Queen *Elizabeth*, and died at *Roſſe* in *Leinſter* a Province of *Ireland* in the year 1577, as appeareth by his Monument in the Cathedral Church at *Exeter* erected at the coſts of his Nephew *Peter*, who was Brother to *George*, whom King *James* for his many Virtues not long ſince created a Baron. 1554

With Sir *Peter* at the ſame time Sir *John Cheeke*, who had been King *Edward*'s Tutour, was alſo taken, who came from *Strasburg* towards *Bruſſels*, and that not without Publick Licence, upon no other buſineſs, but to viſit (as ſaith *Fox*) the Queens Agents there, or rather according to *Thuanus*, to marry a Wife. Whatſoever were the cauſe of his Journey, certain it is that he was intercepted, on the way from *Antwerp* to *Bruſſels* unhorſed by ſome of the Queens Servants, and tied with Cords to a Cart, at laſt muffled, carried on ſhipboard, and conveyed to the *Tower* at *London*, not knowing all the way for what part of the World he was bound. There, having always in Conſcience abhorred the Errours of Popery, he was forced to Abjure his Religion, for which he afterward became ſo repentant, that out of extremity of Grief he languiſhed, and ſhortly died. Theſe paſſages I do the more exactly deſcribe, becauſe there want not ſome, who relate, that both Sir *Peter Carow* and Sir *John Cheeke* for their Religion ſuffered at a Stake on on the thirteenth of *June* this preſent year. *Sir* John Cheeke *is taken, and dieth.*

But to return to *Wiat*; he perceiving that his intents were divulged, and that he had nothing to truſt to, no refuge but Valour; incited the People in *Kent* to a Rebellion, and (as Rebels never want common pretexts to colour their actions) that,

Becauſe the Queen relying too much upon the Advice of bad Counſellors, had lately done, and did daily endeavour many things prejudicial

to

1554. *to the Eſtate of the Realm: That therefore to prevent farther inconveniences, thoſe Counſellors muſt be removed, and others ſubſtituted, who ſhould ſo manage the Eſtate, as ſhould anſwer the Truſt repoſed in ſuch men, whoſe Loyalty ſhould render them more careful of the Publick, than their Private Profit. But above all they muſt endeavour, that ſome means muſt be uſed to impeach this determined Match, by which he plainly foreſaw this free Realm would be oppreſſed with the miſeries of a moſt lamentable Servitude; and a floud-gate would be opened, to let in a perpetual current of Superſtition: That the effects of their Arms would prove very profitable to the Queen (for whoſe happineſs he ſhould ever pray) and to the general good of the Kingdom.*

But howſoever he fed the giddy multitude with ſpecious words, the Duke of *Suffolk* at that time running the ſame courſe in *Warwickſhire*, it was palpable, that their drift was to Depoſe *Mary*, and once more to Enthrone Captive *Jane*.

By the five and twentieth of *January*, Fame had filled *London* with the news of this *Kentiſh* Rebellion. For the repreſſion whereof, the Duke of *Norfolk* was the ſame day diſpatched with ſome ſmall Forces, conſiſting for the moſt part of the Queens Guard, which were a little increaſed by the acceſſion of five hundred *Londoners*, who were the next day ſent down by Water to *Graveſend*, where the Duke expected them. With theſe he reſolves to encounter *Wiat*, whom his madneſs had not yet carried beyond *Rocheſter*, which (notwithſtanding its weakneſs, being no way fortified) he intended to make good againſt the Duke, and had encamped within the ruines of the Caſtle.

Rocheſter is a City ſeated upon the River *Medway*, where falling into the *Thames* it is moſt violent, ebbing and flowing like a Streight, and is made paſſable by an arched ſtone Bridge of excellent artifice. This Bridge had the Rebels ſeized, and planted on it ſome braſs double Cannons, that they might debar the Duke (whom they underſtood by their Scouts to be upon march) of paſſage. But he nothing daunted with their proceedings ſent a Herald to proclaim Pardon to ſuch as forſaking *Wiat*, ſhould return to their Obedience, reſolving withal to force the Bridge and gain entrance into the City. The Herald executed his office, but with ſo ſubmiſs a voice, that he was heard by few (for indeed a Piſtol held at his Breaſt ſo terrified him, that he was content for his own ſafety to yield to the Rebels ſo commanding) and was returned with this anſwer, that they knew not themſelves to be ſo far Delinquent, as that they ſhould need any ſuch Pardon. Only Sir *George Harper* faining a Revolt, made over toward the Duke of *Norfolk*, but indeed with intent to perſwade *Alexander Bret* Captain of thoſe five hundred *Londoners*, to partake in this Action of common Diſloyalty. Which he performed ſo effectually, that *Bret*, whoſe Company made the Vauntguard, before he came ſo near the Bridge as to give an aſſault, ſuddenly drawing

Bret with five hundred Londoners revolts to Wiat.

drawing his Sword turned about to his Souldiers, and thus beſpake them: 1554.

Valiant Countrey-men, we now engage our ſelves in a Cauſe, which before we farther proceed, would require mature Deliberation. We march, but againſt whom? Are they not our Friends, our fellow-natives, with whom we ſeek to make a deeper mixture of our Bloods? Have they not taken Arms for the preſervation of the ancient glory of the Engliſh *name, and to vindicate our common Liberties againſt the Inſolencies of the cruel* Spaniard *? You whoſe degenerate Spirits can brook the indignities of Servitude, continue in God's name with your brave General, who without doubt will deſerve the ſervice of ſuch Worthies: As for me (who had rather undergo many the moſt torturing Deaths, than betray my liberty to the* Spaniard) *I here (happy and proſperous may it prove) enrol my ſelf under* Wyat's *Colours, and am confident that ſome of you out of Affection to your Countrey will follow my example.*

He had ſcarce ſpoken thus much, when they all crying out a *Wyat*, a *Wyat*, turned the Cannon againſt their fellows, who followed in the Rere. Which unexpected Revolt ſo terrified the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Arundell*, and Sir *Henry Jernegam* Captain of the Guard, who followed the Duke in this Expedition, that they inſtantly betook themſelves to flight. The remainder of that ſmall Army prepared themſelves according to the example of their Commanders, when *Wyat* with ſome Horſe intercepted their flight, and ſeiſed on eight Braſs Peeces with all the Duke's Munition: Then uſed he ſome perſwaſions to pervert their Loyalty, profeſſing withal, that *If any one would be an Inſtrument of his own Miſery by aſſiſting the Queen, he ſhould have free licence to depart, deſiring all ſuch, that they would certifie all men, but eſpecially her Majeſty, that* Wyat *calling God and men to witneſs did proteſt, that he took not Arms any way to prejudice Her, but to maintain the Liberties of his Countrey inviolate againſt Forein Machinations.* The five hundred *Londoners*, many of the Guard, and the greateſt part of the headleſs Army forthwith joyn with *Wyat*, who now upon confidence of his Forces reſolves to make ſpeedily for *London*.

The Duke of Suffolk *perſwades the People to Arms in vain.*

Whiles *Wyat* thus acts his part in *Kent*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, who with his Brothers Lord *John* and Lord *Leonard Gray* departed from *London* on the five and twentieth of *January*, did every where incite the People to take Arms againſt the *Spaniard*. But finding, that this Alarm took not, and knowing he had waded too far to hope for a ſecond Pardon, he determined to endeavour an Eſcape by flight. But the Earl of *Huntingdon* ſent by the Queen with three hundred Horſe to take him, made him alter his reſolution. The Duke's Company conſiſted not of above fifty, with which ſmall number in a Countrey that no way favoured his proceedings, to oppoſe the Earl were deſperate madneſs. Therefore

1554. distributing his Money amongſt them, feigns a flight, adviſeth his Brothers and the reſt to diſperſe themſelves, and having thus freed himſelf from the danger of obſequious Eyes, committed himſelf to the truſt of one *Underwood*, whom he had formerly made his Ranger at *Aſtley*. But Benefits oblige not Ignoble minds, which either mercenary or timid, treacherouſly fail in their repoſed Truſt. Such did this man prove, who having promiſed for a while to ſhelter his Lord, until he ſhould bethink himſelf of ſome other expedient courſe, either out of fear or hope of reward, betrayed him to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, by whom guarded with three hundred Horſe he was brought to *London*, and on the eleventh of *February* committed to the *Tower*.

In the mean time the Queen jealous of the *Londoners*, eſpecially ſince *Bret*'s Revolt, on the firſt of *February* attended by moſt of the Nobility, came to *Guildhall*, where the Commons of the City were aſſembled in their Liveries, to whom ſhe ſpake after this manner:

The Queens Oration to the Londoners.

Although We doubt not of your Loyalty, and ſo need not give an account of Our actions; yet having intelligence that many ſeduced by this Arch-traytor's gay Pretexts, do ſecretly favour his Deſigns; We have, to give ſatisfaction to all, condeſcended to this days meeting with the Infant *of* Spain *is that forſooth, that muſt colour all his Villanies. But his Actions diſcover his deeper Practices. For having now ſomewhat increaſed his members, his madneſs hath ſo tranſported him beyond the diſtaſt of Our Match, that he now reſolves on the cuſtody of Our Perſon, and abſolute power of removing, retaining, puniſhing of Our Council whom he liſt. In this great affair of Our Marriage, We have done nothing but by the advice of Our Peers. We have lived the greateſt part of Our age, ſingle. Neither do We now ſo long for a Husband, but that, if the Eſtates of Our Realm judge it convenient, We will continue Our Virgin eſtate. For, that I ſhould ſeek to endanger* England, *and to confound all things by an unfortunate Match, the love of Our Native ſoil, the long knowledge of Our Peaceable diſpoſition, Our endeavours for your Good, will perſwade you to the contrary. Perſiſt therefore in your Loyal Reſolutions, and aſſiſt Us in executing Our due Revenge on theſe Monſters of men, who conſpire to take away the Head which was ordained to guide them, and to ſuffer with them: Neither are Our demands other than We may in reaſon expect from you, who ſo maturely, ſo unanimouſly admitted of Our Government, as deeming Us the Undoubted Succeſſour to Our Royal Father and Brother.*

Having thus confirmed the minds of the Citizens, ſhe arms five hundred men (the greater part Strangers) to the choiſeſt whereof ſhe commits the defence of *London-Bridge*, and diſpoſes of the reſt throughout the City. Two days after to *London* comes *Wyat* with an Army of three (or four) thouſand, full of hope, that having preſent admittance into the City, Succeſs ſhould crown his Actions, and that without either peril or pains. But things

things anſwered not his expectation. For coming to the Bridge, he found it cut down, the Gates ſhut and made good againſt him by armed Troops, who diſdainfully bid the Traytor avaunt. Nevertheleſs he continued two days in *Southwark*, hoping, that time and induſtry of ſecret Practiſers might work ſome alteration. 1554.

But his hopes being here alſo fruſtrated, he turns his March for *Kingſton*, there to gain paſſage over the *Thames*. But the woodden Bridge there was alſo broken, and the oppoſite Bank defended by two hundred men, whom the ſight of two Peeces of Ordnance ready to be planted againſt them ſo terrified, that they left their ſtation, and gave *Wyat* liberty to find out means to waft his Army. Having ſurmounted this difficulty, he once more reſolves for that Queen of Cities, and repoſing all the ſucceſs of this Adventure in celerity, without ſuffering his Souldiers to repoſe themſelves, makes with a round march for *London*, where he hoped to arrive before day, and to ſurpriſe the ſecure Queen. But God is the Protector of Princes, who more eſpecially are his Images and Lieutenants; ſo that the practices of Rebels and Traytors againſt their lawful Sovereigns ſeldom prove ſucceſsful. *Wyat* had (not improbably) been Maſter of his deſires, had not God by an unexpected accident retarded him, or rather ſo blinded him, that by unneceſſary delays he overſlipped his opportunity. He was now within ſix miles of *London*, when the Carriages of one of his Braſs Peeces being broken, the Peece became for the preſent unſerviceable, becauſe immovable. In remounting this Peece ſome hours were loſt, notwithſtanding their perſwaſions who adviſed him not to neglect more real Advantages, as indeed he did: for by this means he came ſhort of the time prefixed by thoſe Citizens who were fautors of his Cauſe. The conſideration whereof made many deſpair of Succeſs and relinquiſh him, ſo that his Army was quickly contracted to a ſmaller groſs. Among the reſt Sir *George Harper* partaker of all *Wyat*'s Stratagems, that he might wipe away the ſtains of Rebellion and his diſſembled Revolt by a loyal Treachery, poſted away to the Queen, and revealed the whole *ſeries* of *Wyat*'s Projects. The Queen amazed at the apprehenſion of this imminent danger, gives Commiſſion to the Earl of *Pembroke* for the ſpeedy raiſing of ſome Forces, and makes him General of the Field. *Wyat* hearing that the Earl of *Pembroke* was in Arms, betook himſelf to a ſlower march, leſt he ſhould be forced againſt theſe freſh Souldiers to oppoſe his panting weary ones. So by Noon he approached the Suburbs, and planting his Ordnance upon a Hill beyond St. *James*, left there the greateſt part of his ſmall Army to guard them. He himſelf with five Enſigns made towards *Ludgate*, and *Cuthert Vaughan* with two other Enſigns toward *Weſtminſter*, leaving St. *James* on the left hand: wherein I believe his chief end was, that by

1554. terrifying that part of the City, and conſequently diſtracting the Queens Forces, *Wyat* might gain paſſage with leſs difficulty. At *Charing-Croſs* Sir *John Gage* Lord Chamberlain, with part of the Guard and ſome other Souldiers made head againſt *Wyat*. But at length, either the Queen for fear of *Vaughan* ſo commanding, or not able to withſtand the ſhock, with more than an orderly march he made toward the Court, and filled it with terrour and amazement. The Earl of *Pembroke* followed *Wyat*, ſtill cutting him off behind: by which kind of fight *Wyat*, not turning head, loſt many of his Soldiers. The reſt of the Rebels couragiouſly marching up *Fleetſtreet*, with joyful Acclamations cryed out, *Queen* Mary, *Queen* Mary, *God ſave Queen* Mary, *who hath granted us our Petitions, and Pardon.* At length they came to *Ludgate*, and deſired entrance; but by their feigned Acclamations they gained nothing but reproachful language. Whereupon they intend to return the ſame way, but are circumvented by the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Horſe. Then *Clarencieux* perſwaded him to yield, and not beyond all his former madneſs, to ſurcharge himſelf with the Blood of ſo many valiant men. *Wyat*'s Souldiers ſeemed deſperately bent to make their way, but his Courage was quailed. *Wyat is taken.* So he yielded to Sir *Maurice Barkley*, who mounting him behind him, carried him preſently to the Court. Their Captain taken, the Souldiers make no reſiſtance; ſome few of them eſcape by flight, but the greater part fill the Priſons of the City. Theſe were the accidents of the ſixth of *February*.

The Lady Jane *Beheaded.* Having thus ſuppreſt the Faction, the puniſhment of the Conſpirators is next in execution. The firſt that was reflected on (as for whoſe ſake this Rebellion had been ſet on foot) was Lady *Jane*; who having been Condemned on the thirteenth of *November*, had her Execution hitherto deferred, not without hope of Pardon. But to take away all farther cauſe of Sedition, her Death is now abſolutely determined. Whereupon *Fecknam* Dean of *Pauls*, afterward Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, was ſent unto her to admoniſh her to prepare for Death, and withal to perſwade her to entertain the *Romiſh* Religion. This ſad meſſage ſo little moved her, that *She profeſſed her ſelf bound in this to acknowledge God's infinite goodneſs: As for diſcuſſing matters of Controverſie in Religion, her time was ſo ſhort, that ſhe could not diſpenſe with the leaſt loſs of it; that little that was allotted her, ſhe knew ſhe might better ſpend in her Devotions to Heaven.* *Fecknam* conceiving this anſwer to proceed from a deſire of longer date of Life, prevails with the Queen for three days more; and returning to Lady *Jane*, certifies her what he had done; beſeeching her to hearken unto him, and to reform her Opinion in point of Religion. To whom ſhe anſwered with a ſmiling countenance; *Alas Sir, it was not my deſire that her Majeſty ſhould be troubled with the report of my words: For think not that I am touched with any deſire of prolonging*

my

1554.

my days: No, I am ſo far from it, that ever ſince your departure Life hath afflicted me with its tediouſneſs; and as for Death, being wholly intent to the attaining of Life Eternal, I utterly deſpiſe it, and her Majeſties pleaſure being ſuch, I willingly undergo it. *Feckenam* again reiterated his perſwaſions, that ſhe would embrace the Religion of the Church of *Rome*: To whom her replies were ſuch, that whoſoever ſhall read the Conference between them, (for it was after publiſhed) cannot without amazement wonder, how ſo tender an age, eſpecially the Sex conſidered, ſhould be capable of ſuch Conſtancy, Learning, Wiſdom, Wit. Her Huſband Lord *Guilford* being firſt to ſuffer, deſired leave to ſee her, converſe with her, and take his laſt farewel: Whereto ſhe would by no means conſent, deſiring him *To omit this foment of Grief, rather than Comfort, in Death; for they ſhould ſhortly behold each other more really united in a better place and more happy eſtate.* Yet ſhe unappalled ſaw him conducted to *Tower-hill*, and with the ſame ſetled ſpirit beheld his headleſs Trunk when it was returned to be interred in the Chappel of the *Tower*. The Death of this innocent Lady, it was conceived, would not be without almoſt a general diſtaſte. But to decline it as much as might be, it was thought good that ſhe ſhould not be publickly Beheaded; wherefore there was a Scaffold erected within the *Tower*, whereon about an hour or two after her Husband, on the twelfth of *February* ſhe ſubmitted her neck to the Ax. When ſhe was conducted from the place of her impriſonment to the place of her ſuffering, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* deſired her to vouchſafe him ſomething or other which might ſerve as a Monument to him, whereby to remember her; whereupon ſhe demanded Writing-Tables, and therein wrote three ſhort Sentences in *Greek*, *Latin*, (in which Languages ſhe was admirably ſkilled) and *Engliſh*, wherein ſhe ſignified her Innocence; and although ſhe confeſſed ſhe had committed an Errour, which deſerved Death, yet Ignorance might among men without prejudice to the Laws ſufficiently excuſe it. At laſt ſaluting the People as ſhe went, with a countenance ſetled and void of fear, and commending her ſelf to their Prayers, ſhe came to the place of Execution, leading *Feckenam* by the Hand, whom ſhe kindly embraced, ſaying, *God I beſeech him abundantly reward you for your Kindneſs toward me, although I muſt needs ſay it was more unwelcome to me, than my inſtant Death is terrible.* Then having to the Aſſembly in very modeſt language diſcourſed of her Action, ſhe ſaid,

I am Condemned, not for having aſpired to the Crown, but becauſe I refuſed it not being offered; and ſhall ſerve for a memorable Example to Poſterity, that Innocence excuſeth not great Miſdeeds, if they any way tend to the deſtruction of the Weal publick; for he hath abundantly plunged himſelf in Ill, whoſoever even perforce hath become the Inſtrument of another's Ambition.

Having

1554.

Having ſpoken thus much, and implored God's mercy, by the help of her Gentlewoman ſhe firſt diſrobed her ſelf of her Gown, then her Attire, and vailing her Eyes with her Handkerchief, laid her Head on the Block, and exhorted the lingring Executioner to the performance of his office, which he at length did, his action drawing tears from the Eyes of the Spectators, yea even of thoſe, who from the very beginning were affected to Queen *Maries* Cauſe. This was the end of *Jane*, a Lady renowned for the greatneſs of her Birth, but far more for her Virtues and excellency of Wit, who ſwayed by the Ambition of her Father-in-Law and imperious Mother, took on her that Fatal Title of a Queen; and being preſently hurried from a Kingdom to a Scaffold, ſuffered for the faults of others, having overcome all the frowns of adverſe Fortune by Conſtancy and Innocence.

Much more juſt was that Execution which within three days after enſued. Twenty Gibbets as well for terrour of others as for preſent puniſhment, being erected in divers parts of the City, on the fourteenth and fifteenth of *February* fifty of the *Kentiſh* Rebels were hanged on them. On the eighteenth of the ſame month, *Alexander Bret* who drew thoſe five hundred *Londoners* into a Revolt from the Duke of *Norfolk*, was with a multitude of others (whereof many were of the Gentry) ſent into *Kent*, there to undergo exemplary puniſhment. On the twentieth of *February*, four hundred of the ſame Crew with Halters about their Necks, were preſented before the Queen, all humble ſuppliants on their Knees, whom the Queen pardoned, and commanded their preſent liberty.

The Duke of Suffolk *Beheaded.*

On the three and twentieth of *February*, *Henry Gray* Duke of *Suffolk* Father to Lady *Jane*, having been Condemned on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, was publickly Beheaded: A man whoſe facility to by-practices had occaſioned all the Troubles wherewith this Reign had hitherto been diſtracted; whoſe raſh Ingratitude (the Queen having once Pardoned him beyond expectation) diverted the current of the Queens clemency toward his Daughter, and brought him to a deſerved end.

Wyat *Executed,*

The next turn was *Wyat*'s, and that on the eleventh of *April*. Who upon a kind of promiſe of Pardon, if he would detect the reſt of the Conſpirators, ſuborned (as is conceived) by ſome malevolent perſons, among the reſt traduced young *Courtney*, as that having been refuſed by Queen *Mary*, he aſpired to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, to depoſe the Queen, and ſo to reign as it were in the right of his Wife. This Accuſation had procured their Commitment, the Lady *Elizabeth*'s on the eighteenth of *March*, *Courtney*'s on the twelfth of *February*. But *Wyat* finding himſelf deluded, and being toucht with the horridneſs of ſo treacherous an Accuſation, going to the place of his Execution, deſired the favour of a few words with the Marqueſs of *Exceter*, which

was

1554.

which was granted him. Of the Marqueſs he on his knees craved pardon for that irreparable Injury which he had done him, not out of Malice, but deſire of Life. The Sheriffs of the City, with many others were then preſent, and after teſtified the certainty of this acknowledgement. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Lord Chancellour (who out of fear of change of Religion if Queen *Mary* dying, *Elizabeth* ſhould come to the Crown, was content to lay hold on any occaſion to cut her off) affirmed in the *Star-Chamber*, and thereto cited the teſtimony of the Lord *Chandois*, that *Wyat* a little before his Death exhorted the Marqueſs to acknowledge his Crime, and to ſubmit himſelf to the Queens mercy. But what apparance of truth can there be in this, it being certain, that *Wyat* having aſcended the fatal Scaffold, ſeeing the Inſtruments of Death before his Eyes, and having compoſed himſelf for another World, did with ſincere proteſtations and religious aſſeverations acquit the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney* from being any the leaſt way conſcious to his practices?

And Lord Thomas Gray.

On the ſeven and twentieth of *April*, Lord *Thomas Gray* was Beheaded for having by perſwaſions as it were thruſt on his irreſolute Brother the Duke of *Suffolk* to partake with *Wyat* in his Seditious attempts.

On the ſixteenth of *May* the Lady *Elizabeth* was removed from the *Tower* to *Woodſtock*, and the Marqueſs of *Exceter* to *Foderingay*, the place only being altered, and nothing remitted of the ſtrictneſs of their Impriſonment.

A Diſputation at Oxford.

About the ſame time that Reverend *Cranmer* yet Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Ridley* lately deprived of the Biſhoprick of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* who ſo long ago reſigned his Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, were removed from the *Tower* to *Windſor*, and thence to *Oxford*, there ſolemnly to Diſpute with the Divines of both Univerſities concerning the *Euchariſt*. Their uſage was extreme almoſt beyond belief. Two days only were allotted them for their preparation; and thoſe two days were they in ſtraight cuſtody in ſeveral either Dungeons or places little differing, debarred both the conference of any but their Gaoler, and the uſe of their own Papers and Books. In the Schools the behaviour toward them was as barbarous as their uſage had been tyrannical: Shouts and outcries were the chiefeſt Arguments, many oppoſing one, without Order, without Manners, without Modeſty. On the fourteenth of *April* from the Priſon they were brought to St. *Maries*, and commanded to Abjure; upon their refuſal, a day is prefixed for publick Diſpute: *Cranmer*'s day was the ſixteenth, *Ridley*'s the ſeventeenth, *Latimer*'s the eighteenth of *April*, each in their courſe to anſwer all Opponents; which each of them performed, and that ſo, that notwithſtanding they were amazed with rude clamours, and diſtracted with variety of Opponents, all

1554.

all urging and craving anſwer at the ſame time, although they were ſcoffed at, reviled, and over-born with multitude, yet did they force their Adverſaries to admire them. *Cranmer* did learnedly, and according to the dignity wherein he ſo many years flouriſhed, gravely; *Ridley* acutely and readily; *Latimer* with a pleaſant tartneſs, and more ſolidly than could be expected of a man ſo near the age of fourſcore. The Diſputation ended, they are again on the twentieth of *April* brought to St. *Maries*, and demanded whether they would perſiſt in their Opinions; upon their reply, that they would, they were declared Hereticks, and condemned to the Fire. Their Conſtancy was the more manifeſt by their contempt of Death. *Latimer* was ſcarce capable of the joy he conceived, that God was pleaſed he ſhould end his long life (whereto Nature would ſhortly ſet a period) with ſo happy a clauſe. As for their Martyrdom, it falls in with the next Year, and thither we remit it.

Cranmer, Ridley, *and* Latimer *Condemned.*

Preſently after thoſe forepaſſed Tumults, the Queen ſends forth Summons for a Parliament to begin the ſecond of *April*. In this Parliament ſhe propoſeth two things, her Marriage and Subjection to *Rome* in matters Eccleſiaſtical; this laſt ſhe could not for a while obtain, the other was aſſented unto upon conditions, That

Additions to the former Nuptial Compacts.

Philip *ſhould not advance any to any publick Office or Dignity in* England, *but ſuch as were Natives of* England, *and the Queens Subjects: He ſhould admit of a ſet number of* Engliſh *in his Houſhold, whom he ſhould uſe reſpectively, and not ſuffer them to be injured by Foreiners: He ſhould not tranſport the Queen out of* England *but at her intreaty, nor any of the Iſſue begotten by her, who ſhould have their Education in the Realm, and ſhould not be ſuffered but upon neceſſity or ſome good reaſons, to go out of the Realm, nor then neither but with the conſent of the* Engliſh: *The Queen deceaſing without Children,* Philip *ſhould not make any claim to the Kingdom, but ſhould leave it freely to him, to whom of right it ſhould belong: He ſhould not change any thing in the Laws either publick or private, the Immunities and Cuſtoms of the Realm, but ſhould be bound to confirm and keep them: He ſhould not tranſport any Jewels, or any part of the Wardrobe, nor alienate any of the Revenues of the Crown: He ſhould preſerve our Shipping, Ordnance, and Munition, and keep the Caſtles, Forts, and Block-houſes in good repair, and well manned: Laſtly, that this Match ſhould not any way derogate from the League lately concluded between the Queen and the King of* France, *but that the Peace between the* Engliſh *and the* French *ſhould remain firm and inviolate: Only it ſhould be lawful for* Philip *out of other Kingdoms and Dominions belonging to his Father the Emperour, to ſend Aids unto him, either for propelling Injuries, or taking revenge for any already received.*

Philip *arriveth in* England.

All things being thus tranſacted, and no further impediment interpoſing between theſe Princes; *Philip* ſetting ſail from the

Groin

Groin on the ſixteenth of *July*, with a good Southern gale within three days arrived at *Southampton* with a Fleet of one hundred and ſixty Sail, whereof twenty were *Engliſh*, and other twenty *Flemings*. Having reſted himſelf there the ſpace of three days attended by a great company of the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Nobility, on the four and twentieth of *July* being a very wet day he came to the Queen at *Wincheſter*. The Feaſt-day of St. *James* (the Tutelary Saint of *Spain*) was deſtined for the Nuptials, which were Celebrated at *Wincheſter* with great pomp. There *Don Juan Figueroa* for the Emperour reſigned the Kingdoms of *Naples* and and *Sicily*, and conferred all his right thereto on *Philip*; and the Heralds proclaimed their Titles in *Latin*, *French*, and *Engliſh*. About the beginning of *Auguſt* theſe two Princes came to *Baſing*, and thence to *Windſor*, where the King was inſtalled Knight of the Garter. On the eleventh of *Auguſt* they came to *London*, where the Citizens received them with moſt magnificent Solemnity.

1554.

And is married to the Queen.

On the eleventh of *November* another Parliament began at *Weſtminſter*; about the beginning whereof Cardinal *Pool* (who by King *Henry* had been proclaimed Enemy to the Eſtate, was created Cardinal by *Paul* the Third, had himſelf been Pope if he had but conſented in time, and in the opinion of many was thought a fit Husband for the Queen) arrived in *England*. Having been put beſide the Papacy by others default more than his own, craving leave of the new Pope *Julius*, he withdrew himſelf to a Monaſtery in the Territory of *Verona* called *Maguzano*, the Religious whereof were *Benedictine* Monks, of which Order he himſelf while he continued at *Rome* had been Patron. Having decreed there to hide himſelf and ſpend the remainder of his days, the fame of King *Edward*'s Death and Queen *Maries* advancement to the Crown, drew him again out of the Cloiſter to *Rome*. He was not ignorant how *Mary* ſtood affected to the See of *Rome*, and therefore hoped (not without good cauſe) that *Julius*, who much favoured him, having by his delays attained the Papacy, would ſend him into his Countrey with the honorable Title and Authority of a Legate. And now he feigned to himſelf a double hope of a Kingdom, if not Secular, at leaſt Eccleſiaſtical, by virtue of his authority Legatine and the dignity of Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Queen *Mary* had her Education for ſome years under *Margaret* Counteſs of *Salisbury* the Mother of *Pool* (who was then a Child) and that by Queen *Catharine*'s means, who intended (as it was thought) to marry her Daughter the Lady *Mary* to one of the Counteſſes Sons, thereby to ſtrengthen her Daughters claim to the Crown, if it ſhould happen that *Henry* ſhould deceaſe without other lawful Iſſue, the Counteſs being Daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who was Brother to *Edward* the Fourth. The Cardinal, whether for this

Cardinal Pool *comes into* England.

1554. or ſome other reaſons, knowing himſelf to be in dear eſteem with the Queen, was confident if not of the Crown by Marriage, yet at leaſt of all advantages of her Favour. Neither was he therein deceived; for *Mary* having obtained the Crown, earneſtly ſued unto him to reſtore himſelf to his Countrey; and the Pope, not ignorant how much he would advantage the Apoſtolick See, at the Queens requeſt diſpatched him with moſt ample Authority. But the Emperour having a Project on foot for his Son, was ſomewhat jealous of the Cardinal; and therefore began ſeriouſly to treat with Cardinal *Dandino* the Pope's Legate with him, for the concluſion of a Peace between him and the *French*, that ſo he might give a ſtop to *Pool*, whoſe coming into *England*, the Emperour's affairs being not yet ſetled, might peradventure make all fly aſunder. *Dandino* to gratifie *Charles*, by *Franciſco Commendono* ſends Letters to *Pool*, adviſing him not to ſet forth as yet, foraſmuch as this Legacy undertaken without the Emperour's conſent, was diſpleaſing; and the *Engliſh* Nation for the moſt part, eſpecially the *Londoners*, did ſo hate the name of the Pope of *Rome*, that his Legacy would be held in contempt among them: A Legate therefore was not to be employed unto them, until perſwaſions had brought them to a better temper. *Pool* having received theſe Letters in his Cloiſter, thought it fitting to expect his Holineſs pleaſure. The Pope not brooking the increaſe of the Emperour's greatneſs by the addition of ſuch Eſtates, and fretting that *Dandino* had preſumed to ſtay the Cardinal, recalled *Dandino*, and conferred on *Pool* alone the Legacy both into *England* for the one affair, and to the Emperour and the *French* for the Treaty of a Peace. He willingly undertaking it, preſently ſet forward from *Trent*, certifying the Emperour and the *French* of his large Commiſſion. The Emperour perceiving that theſe devices would be no longer availeable, ſent *Don Juan de Mendoza* unto him with Letters, wherein he plainly diſcovered his fear, that the Cardinal's premature arrival in *England* might prove an obſtacle to his proceedings there, which were great and hopeful: Wherefore it was his deſire, that he ſhould either there attend his pleaſure, or if he would needs go further he might come to *Liege*, and there expect the event of his deſigns. The Cardinal upon receipt of theſe Letters returns to *Dilling*, (not far from *Trent*) certifies his Holineſs of the whole carriage of the Buſineſs, and ſends expoſtulatory Letters to the Emperour, ſhewing therein what an indignity it was to Apoſtolick See, that his Holineſs Legat ſent upon a Treaty of Peace, and to reduce a Kingdom to the obedience of the Church, ſhould ſo diſgracefully, with contempt to his Holineſs, and that by the Emperour's command, be detained in the midſt of *Germany* in the ſight of the Enemies of the Church. That great Divine *Domingo Soto* Ordinary Preacher to the Emperour was then at *Dilling*.

Dilling. By him he perſwades the Emperour not to hinder this Legation, being it would ſo much hazard the eſtate of the Church, but eſpecially of the Kingdom of *England.* At length with much ado, and that not until the Emperour had intelligence, that the Articles concerning his Son's Marriage were agreed on, he obtained leave to come to *Bruſſels*, but on this condition, that he ſhould there reſide until the Emperour were aſſured, that the Marriage between *Philip* and *Mary* were Solemnized. So to *Bruſſels* he came, where having ſaluted the Emperour, who received him very courteouſly, and that time might not paſs unprofitably, with him he begins to put in execution one part of his Legation, which was, to draw the Emperor and the King of *France* to ſome indifferent terms of Peace. The Emperour profeſſing, that he would not reject Peace upon any reaſonable conditions, the Cardinal goes into *France*, to treat with *Henry* concerning the ſame thing: Who made as fair ſhews as did the Emperour; but their minds exulcerated with inveterate hate, made all his pains fruitleſs. *Henry* at his departure embracing him, ſignified the ſorrow he had conceived, that he had not ſooner occaſion to be acquainted with his worth: For had he truly know him, his endeavours ſhould have been totally for his advancement to the Papacy. 1554.

A little after his return to *Bruſſels*, came the Lords *Paget* and *Haſtings* Ambaſſadors to the Emperour from their Majeſties of *England*, who ſignified their joint-longing to ſee the Cardinal, and therefore deſired he might be forthwith diſmiſſed, that by virtue of his Authority he might rectifie the Church of *England*, wonderfully out of tune by reaſon of the Schiſm wherewith it had been afflicted. So in *September* he had leave to go for *England*, but was by contrary winds detained at *Calais* until *November*, in which month he at length arrived at *Dover.* His entertainment was moſt honourable, the Kings and Nobles alike ſtriving to manifeſt their joy. And becauſe being in the year 1539 by Parliament declared Enemy to the Eſtate, and by the ſame Law condemned to die; the Eſtates then aſſembled in Parliament repealed that Act, and reſtored him to his Blood, the Kings themſelves coming to the Houſe extraordinarily for the confirmation of the Act before his arrival at *London.* A little after his coming, both Houſes were ſent for to the Court, where the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Lord Chancellour having in the preſence of the Kings and the aſſembly ſpoken ſomething concerning the Cardinal's grateful arrival, the Cardinal himſelf began a long Oration in *Engliſh*, wherein *He acknowledged how much he was bound to the Kings and the Eſtates of the Realm, by whoſe favour thoſe Laws for his Exile and Proſcription were repealed, and he once more made a Native of the Land: He was bound by the Laws of Gratitude to endeavour the requital of this Benefit, whereto an occaſion happily*

Cardinal Pool's Oration to the Parliament.

1554. *happily offered it ſelf: The late Schiſm had ſeparated them from the Union of the Church, and made them exiles from Heaven; by the Authority conferred on him by the Pope St.* Peter's *Succeſſor,* Chriſt's *Vicar, he would bring them back into the Fold of the Church, the ſole means of attaining their celeſtial Heritage. Wherefore he exhorted them ingenuouſly to acknowledge the Errours of theſe later years, and to deteſt them, with ſincere alacrity of mind to accept of, and retain this Benefit, which God by his Vicar's Legate did proffer them. For now nothing elſe remained, but that he being preſent with thoſe Keys which ſhould open the Gates of the Church, they ſhould alſo abrogate thoſe Laws, which lately Enacted to the prejudice of the Church, had rended them from the reſt of its Body.*

Having ſpoken a great deal to this purpoſe, and ranſacked Antiquity for examples of our Forefathers devotion to the See of *Rome*; his grave delivery, excellent language, and methodical contexture of his ſpeech wrought ſo effectually in the minds of thoſe who were addicted to Popery, that they thought not themſelves until this day capable of Salvation. But many of the lower Houſe, who deemed it a rare felicity to have ſhaken off the yoak of *Rome*, eagerly withſtood the readmittance of it. But by the endeavours of the King and Queen all things were at laſt compoſed to the Cardinal's liking. The Authority which the Popes heretofore uſurped in this Realm is reſtored, the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church* is abrogated, and a Petition drawn by the whole Court of Parliament, for the Abſolution of the People and Clergy of *England* from Schiſm and Hereſie is by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* preſented to the Legate, who (they all kneeling) by the Authority committed unto him abſolved them. This being done, they went to the Chappel in Proceſſion ſinging *Te Deum*, and the next Sunday the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in his Sermon at *Pauls* Croſs made a large relation of what had paſſed.

The Realm freed from Interdiction.

Theſe things being thus ſetled, the Queen intends an honorable Embaſſy to *Rome*, whereof ſhe had at her firſt coming to the Crown made promiſe. For having reſolved to replant the Religion of *Rome*, ſhe had privily written to *Pool*, requiring his advice therein. The Pope was therefore pleaſed to ſend into *England Giovanni Franciſco Commendono* his Chamberlain (afterward Cardinal) for the more perfect notice of the eſtate of the Realm. To him the Queen after much private conference did under her Hand promiſe Obedienee to the See of *Rome*, deſiring withal, that the Kingdom might be abſolved from the Interdict, for the obtaining whereof ſhe would by a ſolemn Embaſſy petition his Holineſs as ſoon as the Eſtate was ſetled. So now about the end of this year the Biſhop of *Ely*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and *Edward Carne* Doctor of Law, are by the Kings ſent to proffer their Obedience to the See of *Rome*. But theſe coſts and pains were fruitleſs.

fruitleſs. For before they came to *Rome* the Pope was dead. In the mean time the Queen conſidering all her actions hitherto to have paſſed with full applauſe, began to treat with the Nobility, to condeſcend, that if not the Royal, at leaſt the Matrimonial Crown of our Queens might be impoſed on *Philip*. But it being a matter without precedent, and that might perchance to an ambitious Prince give ſome colour for claim to the Kingdom, they proved averſe, and ſhe content to ſurceaſe. 1554.

The next care was of reſtitution of Church-Lands. But *Henry* had ſo divided them, and that among the Nobility, that nothing could be done therein. Only it was decreed, that the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths granted to the King by the Clergy *Anno* 1534, ſhould be remitted; which Decree upon conſideration of the Treaſuries poverty, and of the many Penſions granted by *Henry* to the ejected Religious Perſons, was quickly revoked.

The Queen thought to be with Child.

About the ſame time an abſurd (I might ſay ridiculous) accident happened by the Queens own credulity and the flattery of fawning Courtiers. By reaſon of a Diſeaſe, which Phyſicians term a *Mole*, her Belly began to ſwell; and ſome other reaſons giving her cauſe to conjecture that ſhe was with Child, ſhe not entertaining the advice of any Phyſicians, but of Midwives and old Women, believing what ſhe deſired ſhould be, affirmed that ſhe felt the ſtirring of the *Embryo* in her womb. To thoſe that are affected with this malady, that fleſhy and inform ſubſtance which is termed *Mola*, doth ſeem ſometimes to move, but that ſlowly, and with the general motion of the whole Belly. By this and other ſymptoms Phyſicians would quickly have diſcovered her Diſeaſe, which unleſs very maturely prevented, is commonly incurable: So that in proceſs of time her Liver being over-cooled, ſhe fell into a Dropſie, which as *Fuchſius* and other Phyſicians write, doth uſually happen. But theſe flattering hopes betrayed her to the laughter of the World, and to her Grave. For on the ſeven and twentieth of *November* the Lords of the Council ſent ſome Mandates to the Biſhop of *London*, to diſperſe certain forms of Prayers, wherein after Thanks given to God for his Mercies to this Kingdom, by giving hopes of an Heir to the Crown, and infuſing life into the *Embryo*, they ſhould pray for the preſervation of the Queen and the Infant, and her happy delivery, and cauſe *Te Deum* to be ſung every where. Then by Parliament many things were Enacted concerning the Education of the Babe; and much clutter was otherwiſe kept about preparations for the Child's Swadling-clouts, Cradle, and other things requiſite at the Delivery; until in *June* in the enſuing year it was manifeſted, that all was little better than a Dream.

This year were many Barons created. On the eleventh of *March*,

1554. *Lords created.*

March, *William Howard* was created Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, he was Father to *Charles* Lord Admiral and late Earl of *Nottingham*; on the fifth of *April*, *John Williams* Lord *Williams* of *Tame*; on the ſeventh of *April*, *Edward North* Baron of *Chartlege*; on the eighth of *April*, *John Bruges* Lord *Chandois*; on the fourteenth of *May*, *Gerard Fitz-Gerard* (of whom before) Earl of *Kildare*; and on the ſecond of *September*, *Anthony Brown* Viſcount *Mountague*: And in *September* deceaſed *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*.

ANNO DOM. 1555. *REG.* MARIÆ 2 & 3, PHILIPPI 1 & 2.

1555.

ON the eighteenth of *January* the Lord Chancellour coming to the *Tower* with ſix other Lords of the Council ſet many brave Priſoners at liberty, *viz.* the Archbiſhop of *York*, Sir *John Rogers*, Sir *James Croft*, Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, Sir *George Harper*, Sir *William Sentlow*, Sir *Gawin Carew*, Sir *Andrew Dudley* the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Brother, *William Gibs*, *Cuthert Vaughan*, *Harington*, *Tremaine*, and others. The Archbiſhop having married a Wife, was deprived, and *Nicholas Heath* ſometimes Biſhop of *Worceſter*, but deprived by King *Edward*, and (*Hooper* being ejected and condemned to the Fire) lately reſtored by Queen *Mary*, was ſubſtituted in his place. *Rogers* and *Croft* were afterward Privy Counſellors to Queen *Elizabeth*, under whom they many years flouriſhed in great Authority. *Throckmorton* (a ſubtil man) was thought to have been the plotter of *Wyat*'s Rebellion; his Head was therefore eſpecially aimed at. But being indicted, and ten whole hours ſpent in ſifting him, he by ſuch witty anſwers voided the accuſation of his Adverſary, that the Jurors found him *Not guilty*; for which they were afterward ſoundly fined.

Lady Elizabeth *and the Marqueſs of* Exceter *ſet at liberty.*

About the beginning of *April*, the Marqueſs of *Exceter*, and a little after, the Lady *Elizabeth* were ſet at liberty. Concerning Lady *Elizabeth*, it was long conſulted what courſe to take with her, wherein the reſolutions of the Papiſts were bloodily bent to make her away when any colourable occaſion ſhould preſent it ſelf. The Biſhop of *Winchester* upon any ſpeech concerning the puniſhment of Hereticks, is reported to have ſaid, *We ſtrip off the leaves, or lop off the branches; but unleſs we ſtrike at the Root that hope of Hereticks*, (meaning Lady *Elizabeth*) *we do nothing*. But after long ſearch into her Actions, no ſufficient matter of Accuſation being found, although there wanted not thoſe who ſought to perſwade the Queen, that her liberty would endanger the Queen; yet *Philip* aſpiring to the opinion of Clemency, by his interceſſion toward the end of *April* ſhe had her liberty, but ſo, that ſhe was bound to admit of into her Family Sir *Thomas Pope* a Privy Counſellor,

Counſellor, *Gage*, and ſome others, who ſhould always keep watch over her Actions. 1555.

This ſmall ſparkle of Clemency was obſcured by a greater flame of Cruelty, a multitude of godly men ſuffering this year for their Conſcience only. On the fourth of *February*, *John Rogers* the Protomartyr of thoſe times was Burned at *London*. He was *Tindall*'s Companion, after whoſe death fearing perſecution, he would not return into his Countrey, but went with his Wife to *Wirtenberg*, where having attained to the *German* Tongue, he undertook the Cure of a certain Church there, which he faithfully diſcharged, until under King *Edward* he was recalled from Exile, by *Ridley* Biſhop of *London* made a Prebend of *Pauls*, and Lecturer there. Queen *Mary* having attained the Crown, the Papiſts endeavoured to affright him, and ſo to have once more forced him to a voluntary Exile, commanding him not ſo much as to peep into the ſtreets: and in this manner lived he a year, until at laſt refuſing to flie, he was impriſoned, and condemned to the Fire; which cruel Death (notwithſtanding that he was to leave a Wife and ten Children) he did moſt conſtantly undergo. John Rogers *Burned*,

The like end on the ninth of *February* made *John Hooper* Biſhop firſt of *Gloceſter*, and then of *Worceſter* too, holding both Sees in *Commendam*, who took much pains about *Boner*'s deprivation, which thing now haſtened him to a Stake. For as ſoon as Queen *Mary* was enthroned, he was ſent for to *London*, committed to the *Tower*, and condemned for an Heretick. *Henry* reigning, he he ſpent part of his life in *Germany*, where he took to Wife a *Burguignon*, and among other devout Learned men, had intimate familiarity with *Henry Bullinger*, by whom for his Learning, godly and ſweet converſation he was held in dear eſteem. After his condemnation he was ſent to *Gloceſter*, there to ſuffer, where he was thought moſt to have ſinned in ſowing ſeeds of Errour: He himſelf not a little rejoycing that he ſhould by the teſtimony of his Blood confirm that Doctrine before their Eyes, into whoſe Ears he had ſo often inculcated it. *and Biſhop* Hooper,

The ſame courſe was taken with *Ferrar* Biſhop of St. *Davids*, who was brought down from *London* to his own Dioceſs, there to be judged by the new Biſhop *Morgan*, by whom he was condemned, and Burned at *Caermarden* the third of *March*. He was a man rigid and of a rough behaviour, which procured him much trouble under King *Edward*, and now I believe proved his bane. For having been by the Duke of *Somerſet* advanced to that Dignity, after his death this good and learned man by his ſowr behaviour drawing near to arrogance (which with that Nation is a great indignity) raiſed againſt himſelf many accuſers, two whereof under Queen *Elizabeth* became Biſhops, who after the death of the Duke of *Somerſet* eaſily prevailed with the adverſe *Biſhop* Ferrar,

1555. adverſe Faction for his Impriſonment. Being found in Priſon when *Mary* came to the Crown, and brought before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he might (I believe) by pleaſing anſwers and a little yielding to the ſeaſon, have honeſtly eſcaped their bloody Hands, as did many others, who having not waded too far in Lady *Jane*'s cauſe, nor otherwiſe given any grand affront to any of the Popiſh Prelates, by this means without impediment going into voluntary exile, or being taken, had their liberty eaſily procured at the interceſſion of Friends. But *Ferrar* according to his innate tartneſs, anſwering freely (I will not ſay waiwardly) to his interrogatories, did ſo enrage the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that I do not much wonder at the hard proceedings againſt him.

many others, Beſide theſe, *Roland Taylor* Doctor of Divinity ſuffered at *Hadley* the ninth of *February*, *Laurence Sanders* an Excellent Preacher, on the eighth at *Coventry*, *John Cardmaker* Chancellour of the Church of *Wells* on the laſt of *May* at *London*, where alſo on the firſt of *July* that godly and learned man *John Bradford* underwent the tortures of his Martyrdom.

and Biſhop Ridley, *and* Latimer. But not to go to a particular enumeration of all that ſuffered for their Faith, the number of them was almoſt incredible, the greater part whereof were Executed out of *Boner*'s butchery. But among others we cannot omit thoſe Worthies *Ridley* and *Latimer*, who having been condemned the year before, were now on the ſixteenth of *October* conducted to Execution, and at *Oxford* in the aſpect of the Academicks were in the Town-ditch near *Baliol* Colledge tied to a ſtake and Burned. *Cranmer* is reported from the higher part of his Priſon to have beheld this doleful ſpectacle, and with bended Knees and elevated Hands to have prayed for their conſtancy of Hope and Faith, as alſo for himſelf who was ſhortly he knew to tread their path. But his Execution was for a time deferred by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s means, and that not out of pity, but ambition, and regard of his own profit.

The death of Pope Julius *the Third.* On the four and twentieth of *March* died *Julius* the Third, after whoſe death the Conclave elected *Marcello Cervino*, a man of excellent learning, wiſdom, and ſanctity of life, and under whom there was great hope of the Reformation of that Church: Whoſe that memorable ſaying was, *That he did not ſee how it was poſſible for a Pope to be ſaved*; who having ſate two and twenty days only, died, and left the Chair to Cardinal *Caraffa*, of whoſe contention with *Pool* we have ſpoken already, who ſucceeded him by the name of *Paul* the Fourth. *Gardiner* being not ignorant of this contention, and the differences between them, deals underhand with this new Pope to honour him with a Cardinal's Hat, and to transfer on him the authority Legatine by *Julius* conferred on *Pool*. The Pope in regard of his hatred to *Pool*, eaſily condeſcended thereto, determining alſo to cite him to *Rome*, there

Paul *the Fourth ſucceedeth.* Gardiner *ſueth to be Cardinal.*

to

to force him to acquit himſelf of Hereſie, and to ſuffer as did Cardinal *Morono Pool*'s great Friend, whom this Pope detained in Priſon as long as himſelf lived. Hereby *Gardiner* well hoped to attain to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Revenues of which Biſhoprick *Pool* received as a Sequeſtrator, and would no otherwiſe as long as *Cranmer* lived. This was the reaſon that *Cranmer*'s Execution was deferred, to work means that *Pool* might not be inveſted in the Archbiſhoprick, which he himſelf for the former reaſons hoped to attain. But while *Gardiner* was wholly intent to this project, Death had a project on him, and cut him off by the extremity of a Dropſie, which ſwelling from his Feet and Legs up to his Belly diſpatched him on the twelfth of *November*, who was with great Solemnity interred in his Cathedral at *Wincheſter*.

1555.

Gardiner *dieth.*

The Emperour *Charles* the Fifth having determined to reſign the Empire and his Kingdom, on the five and twentieth of *October* at *Bruſſels*, where all the Eſtates of his Realms were aſſembled, transferred all his Kingdoms and Dominions on his Son *Philip*, whom he had formerly made King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and betook himſelf to the reſt of a private life.

Charles *the Emperour reſigns his Crowns.*

ANNO DOM. 1556. *REG.* MARIÆ 3 & 4, PHILIPPI 2 & 3.

TO begin the year with its firſt day, on the firſt of *January*, *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of *York* was made Lord Chancellour.

1556.

The Archbiſhop of York *Lord Chancellour.*

In *March*, a Comet in the twentieth degree of *Libra* was ſeen from the fifth to the ſeventeenth of the ſame month.

A Comet.

On the thirteenth of *March*, a counterfeit *Edward*, whoſe true name was *William Fetherſtone* was Executed for a Traytor: He being a Miller's Son, in ſtature and lineaments of Body not much unlike the deceaſed King *Edward*, and his Age alſo agreeable, had been the laſt year publickly whipped through *London*, for affirming himſelf to be the King. But not ſufficiently terrified by the ſmart of this puniſhment, he again betakes him to the ſame Impoſture, privately affirms himſelf to be King *Edward*, and cauſes Letters to be caſt abroad, that King *Edward* was alive, for which he was at length deſervedly Hanged.

A counterfeit Edward.

And now we are at length come to the narration of the memorable Martyrdom of the Archbiſhop *Cranmer*. *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* being dead, Cardinal *Pool* as yet the Pope's Legate, appointed *James Brooke* Biſhop of *Gloceſter* for *Cranmer*'s Tryal, foraſmuch as they judged it unlawful to puniſh an Archbiſhop but by leave from his Holineſs. *John Story* and *Thomas Martin*,

Archbiſhop Cranmer *Burned.*

1556. Doctors of Law Commiſſioners for the Queen, accompanied the Biſhop to *Oxford*, that the Authority Royal might countenance the Delegates proceeding. In St. *Maries* Church they had high Seats purpoſely erected for them, *Brooke* ſitting under the place, where the conſecrated Hoſt did uſually hang in a Pix, beſide him ſate *Martin* and *Story*, but a little lower, and *Cranmer* habited like a Doctor of Divinity, not like a Biſhop, was brought before them. Being told that there were thoſe who repreſented not only her Majeſties perſon, but alſo of the moſt holy Father the Pope, he with due reverence ſaluted *Story* and *Martin*, but would not ſo much as vouchſafe to caſt his Eyes toward *Brooke*, and that not (as he afterward confeſſed) out of contempt of the man, whom he formerly loved, but that he might not ſeem to acknowledge the Pope's Authority, he having by Oath to King *Henry* obliged himſelf to the contrary, eſpecially in *England*, where he could make no pretence of right. Then each of them exhorted him to change his Opinion, and return to the Union of the Church: But he not regarding their admonition, they cite him to appear within fourſcore days before his Holineſs, which with her Majeſties conſent, he promiſed he would. But the Pope not expecting his coming, within twenty days after by Letters to the King and Queen commanded him to be Condemned, and committed to the Secular power. After the intercourſe of a few days, new Authority is by the Pope granted to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, and *Thirlby* Biſhop of *Ely* for *Cranmer*'s degradation from Orders both Presbyterial and Archiepiſcopal, and he then to be delivered over to the ſecular Magiſtrate to ſuffer for Hereſie, which was accordingly performed on the fourteenth of *February*. Thoſe Saint-like men, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, as long as they lived did by Letters exhort each other to a generous Conſtancy for the maintenance of the truth of the Chriſtian Faith. But the other two Champions having made their way to Heaven, and left him alone not plied with ſuch firm Exhortations, out of deſire of longer Life his Conſtancy began at length to be ſhaken, and that by the ſubtilty and daily perſwaſions of a *Spaniſh* Frier. So being ſeduced with hope of pardon, he retracts what-ever he had before written in defence of his Religion, which Retractation was after printed and publiſhed. But that little availed him. For whether that *Pool* would not be longer excluded from the poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhoprick, or that (which ſeems more probable) the Queens inveterate hate and deſire of revenge for her Mothers Divorce, which could not be otherwiſe ſatiated than with the Blood of this grave man, were the cauſe: He being now confident of Life is preſently rapt to the place of Execution, and there cruelly Burned, where *Ridley* and *Latimer* had five months before been crowned with Martyrdom. On the day appointed for his Execution,

a

a Sermon by the appointment of the Cardinal was Preached by Dr. *Cole*. Thither was *Cranmer* brought, and placed conveniently near the Pulpit, where *Cole* exhorted him to a conſtancy in that Faith, which he was now content to acknowledge, and that even unto Death, which was now by the appointment of the Magiſtrate to be inflicted on him this very day. God's wrath for the Death of *Fiſher* and *More* could not otherwiſe be appeaſed but by his Blood. But before his Death, would he by a publick Confeſſion teſtifie his ſincere Converſion to the Union of the Church, he ſhould do an act moſt acceptable to God and men. If with this unexpected news *Cranmer* were amazed, I do not at all wonder. But he recollecting himſelf ſtood up, and without any ſign of fear, made a quick Oration to the Aſſembly, wherein having premiſed many things concerning morality and amendment of life, he repeats the principal points of his Doctrine, briefly explains his Faith, affirmeth, *That under the authority Papal the Kingdom of Antichriſt was contained and eſtabliſhed, and laſtly demonſtrates how much he had offended God by the abnegation of the Truth: He profeſſeth therefore, that he had reſolved, that his right Hand, wherewith he had ſo horribly ſinned by Subſcribing to the Doctrine propoſed by the enemies of Truth, ſhould firſt feel the ſmart of puniſhment*; when he would have proceeded to ſpeak more, the multitude of *Romaniſts* whoſe expectation he had ſo finely deluded, with clamours and ſcoffs interrupted him, and hurried him away preſently to the place of Execution. There was then to be ſeen a ſad Spectacle, and ſuch as would, I will not ſay, have extorted pity from his very Enemies, but have expreſſed tears from a Flint: The chief Prelate of the Realm lately flouriſhing by reaſon of his power and favour of Princes, a man of moſt holy converſation, for his age, aſpect, feature, learning, gravity and rare gifts of mind deſervedly moſt Reverend, clad out of intent to expoſe him to mockery in an obſolete garment (for ſo had the Papiſts purpoſely arraied him) and bitterly taunted at to be dragged to death, and that death by the horrid tortures of Fire. Being now faſtned to the Stake, as ſoon as ever the flame began to aſcend, lifting up his left Hand to Heaven, he thruſt forth his right hand into the flame, and there with admirable conſtancy continued it until it was conſumed, only once drawing it in, and with it ſtroaking his Beard. At length the raging flame ſpreading it ſelf, lifting up his Eyes toward Heaven, he cried out, *Lord receive my Spirit*, and his Body abiding as immoveable as the Stake whereto he was faſtened, he patiently endured the Fires violence, until he at laſt expired. His Body being conſumed to aſhes, his Heart was found entire and untoucht. Had any of the *Romaniſts* found the like in any one of their Faction, it ſhould have been recorded for a Miracle, and that Miracle ſufficed to have Sainted him. Give me leave, though 1556.

1556. it be contrary to the method of Hiſtory, to inſert a few Verſes written by *Ralph Skinner* concerning this great man's Martyrdom:

Succubuit ſanctus Præſul Cranmerus, *iniquâ*
Pontificum rabie, fraude doloque perit.
Quòd Verbi *invicto dejecerat* Enſe *Papatum,*
Quòd docuit purâ quærere mente Deum;
Quódque Antichriſti *ſubverterat impia regna,*
Regna piis Anglis *heu tolerata diù;*
Hinc pius & clemens crudeli addicitur igni,
Dantur & innocui membra cremenda viri.
Huc ubi jam ventum eſt, Dextram projecit in ignem,
Projectamque tenens talia dicta dedit:
Primùm peccaſti, primùm & ſentire dolorem
Debes, ah Chriſto dextra inimica meo.
Immotamque tenet dum deflagraverat omnis,
In cineres totam dum cecidiſſe videt.
Cætera cùm pereant flammâ (mirabile dictu)
Cor manet illæſum poſt ubi flamma perit.
Ecce, invicta fides cor inviolabile ſervat,
Nec mediis flammis corda perire ſinit.

Which Verſes may be thus rendred in *Engliſh:*

Through Papiſts rage and fraud good *Cranmer* dy'd,
Becauſe he put their Doctrine to the Sword,
The *two-edg'd Sword* of *Scripture*, and diſcri'd
Chriſt's Foe, inſtructing *England* with the Word:
For this, meek man, he had a Martyr's hire,
His *Soul* was burnt with *Zeal*, his *Corps* with *Fire.*

But when he came unto the ſtake, he thruſt
His right Hand in the flames: Thou firſt (he ſaid)
Becauſe thou firſt did'ſt ſin, here ſuffer muſt,
Thou firſt thy Lord and Maſter haſt betrai'd:
There held he it; his Eyes did ſee it fall,
Soon afterward he ſent thoſe Eyes withal.

But lo, a wonder! Heaven's ſacred Oracle
Had ſure decreed, that ſo *admir'd* a creature
Should not be put to death ſans *Miracle:*
His Body burnt, his Heart in perfect feature
Was found unſing'd: See, ſee, the Faith he cheriſht
Once in that Heart, preſerv'd it ſtill unperiſht.

This year eighty four Burned.

Beſide *Cranmer*, the cruelty of thoſe times did the ſame year devour many Profeſſors of the ſame Religion. Of both Sexes no fewer than eighty four were this year martyred by Fire. Neither did

did their cruelty exerciſe it ſelf on the living only: The Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paul Phagius* long ſince dead, were digged up, formally accuſed of Hereſie, and no man undertaking their Cauſe (as who durſt?) condemned, and publickly Burned in the Market-place at *Cambridge*. And *Peter Martyr*'s Wife, who died at *Oxford*, was diſinterred, and with barbarous and inhumane cruelty buried in a Dunghil. To *Bucer* and *Phagius* Queen *Elizabeth* did afterward with great ſolemnity reſtore their memory and honour: And as for *Peter Martyr*'s Wife, ſhe cauſed her Bones to be tranſlated from that unclean place, to be reinterred in the Church, and commixed with the Relicks of *Frideſwid* (by Papiſts reputed a Saint) that the like occaſion of mockage might not again be offered. 1556. *The exhumation of Bucer and Phagius.*

On the ſame day, whereon *Cranmer* thus ended his life, Cardinal *Pool* was ordered Prieſt at *Greenwich*, and the next day, *Naboth* being dead, took poſſeſſion of his Vineyard, being conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Three days after, being the Feaſt of the Annunciation, accompanied by many Nobles, *Pool* with great ſolemnity received the Pall at *Bow-Church*. *Cardinal* Pool *conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

About the ſame time a notable Conſpiracy was detected, ſome having projected to rob the Exchequer, at that time full of *Spaniſh* coin to the value of fifty thouſand Pounds. The names of the Conſpirators were *Udal*, *Throckmorton*, *Pecham*, *Daniel*, *Stanton*, and (beſides others that fled for it) *White*, who diſcovered his fellows. The reſt were all taken and ſuffered as Traitors. Sir *Anthony Kingſton* as partaker in their intentions was alſo apprehended, but died before he could reach *London*.

In *July*, new Tumults begun to be ſet on foot in *Norfolk* were maturely ſuppreſſed, *Cleber* and three Brothers called *Lincolne* the authors of it ſuffering for their ſeditious attempt.

On the one and twentieth of *November*, *John Fecknam* Dean of *Pauls* was inſtalled Abbot at *Weſtminſter*, which *Henry* the Eighth had erected to an Archiepiſcopal See. There being at that time no Monks in *England*, fourteen were found who were content with *Fecknam* to take the Religious habit of *Benedictines*.

ANNO DOM. 1557. *REG.* MARIÆ 4 & 5, PHILIPPI 3 & 4.

NOw after four or five years we found the effect of our Northern Navigation ſet on foot by *Cabota*. About the beginning of this year arrived in *England Oſep Napea* Ambaſſador from *Baſiliwitz* Emperour of *Ruſſia*, for the Treaty of a perpetual League between our Kings and his Prince. On the *Scottiſh* Coaſt he had ſuffered wrack, and beſide Merchandize of infinite value, he loſt thoſe Preſents, which were from the Emperour deſtinated to their Majeſties. 1557. *An Embaſſage to* Muſcovia.

1557. Majeſties. But the loſs of *Richard Chanceller* was beyond all theſe ineſtimable, who being a moſt expert Pilot, firſt diſcovered the paſſage into thoſe Northern Regions, and now more ſolicitous of the Ambaſſador's ſafeguard than of his own, this man moſt worthy of immortal Memory, was ſwallowed up in the Seas inſatiate gulf. I think the Entertainment of any Ambaſſador with us was never more Royal. On the five and twentieth of *May*, *Philip* having about ſeven days before returned out of *Flanders*, he was admitted into the preſence of the Kings, declared the purport of his Embaſſy, and continued in *London*, until the third of *May*; and having then got a convenient ſeaſon, laden with Gifts he ſet ſail for his Countrey.

The Lord Stourton *hanged.*

On the ſixth of *March*, *Charles* Lord *Stourton* for having in his houſe cruelly murthered one *Hargill* and his Son, with whom he had long been at variance, was by a wholeſom example to poſterity Hanged at *Sarisbury* with four other of his Servants, who were not only conſcious, but actors in the cruelty. After he had beaten them down with Clubs, and cut their Throats, he buried their Carcaſes fifteen foot deep in the ground, hoping by ſuch ſure work to ſtop the voice of Blood crying for revenge; or if peradventure it were diſcovered, the regard of his zealous perſiſtance in the Religion of *Rome* would (he hoped) procure the Queens pardon. But Murther is a ſin that God hath by many memorable Examples manifeſted, that it ſhall not remain undetected: And the Queen although blindly miſled in matter of Religion, was ſo exact a fautrix of Juſtice, that ſhe was utterly averſe from all mention of pardon. So this Nobleman had the puniſhment due to his offence, only in this preferred before other Murtherers and Parricides, that he was not ſtrangled with an Halter of Hemp, but of Silk.

Thomas Stafford *endeavouring an Inſurrection, is taken and Beheaded.*

The ſeven and twentieth of *April*, *Thomas Stafford* landing in the Northern parts of the Realm, having raked together a ſmall company of Exiles and ſome Foreiners, ſurprized *Scarborough* Caſtle then, as in time of Peace, utterly deſtitute of proviſion for reſiſtance: Having thus ſeized on a place of defence, he makes Proclamation, that Queen *Mary* having her ſelf no right to the Crown had betraied it to the *Spaniard*, exhorting the people with him to take Arms for the recovery of their loſt Liberty. But by the diligence of *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* then Ambaſſador for their Majeſties with the *French*, all his deſigns were revealed to the Council before his arrival in *England*. So by the induſtry of the Earl of *Weſtmerland* he was within ſix days taken, brought to *London*, and on the eight and twentieth of *May* Beheaded, *Strechley*, *Proctor*, and *Bradford* the next day following him, but in a more due puniſhment (being drawn, hanged and quartered) whom they had followed in their treacherous attempts.

The Emperour *Charles* having bequeathed the inheritance of his

his hate to *France* with his Crown, *Mary* could not long diſtinguiſh her Cauſe from her Husbands. Wherefore on the ſeventh of *June*, the Queen ſet forth a Proclamation to this effect, that *Whereas the King of* France *had many ways injured her by ſupporting the Duke of* Northumberland *and* Wyat *in their Rebellions againſt her; and that his Realm had been a receptacle for* Dudley *and* Aſhton, *who with the privity of his Ambaſſador had in his houſe contrived their treacherous deſigns, and after their eſcape into* France *had been relieved by Penſions from the King; as alſo for having lately aided* Stafford *with Shipping, Men, Money, and Munition, thereby if it were poſſible to diſpoſſeſs her of the Crown: She gave her Subjects to underſtand, that they ſhould not entertain Traffick with that Nation, whoſe Prince ſhe accounted her Enemy, and againſt whom upon farther grievances ſhe determined to denounce War.*

1557.

War againſt France *proclaimed.*

Although theſe things were true, yet had ſhe abſtained from denunciation of War, had not the five years Truce between *Philip* and *Henry* by the Pope's inſtigation been lately broken by the *French*, and ſo War ariſing between them, ſhe would not make her ſelf and her Husband two. For the Pope having long ſince maligned the Emperour (knowing that he after the reſignation of his Eſtates to his Son *Philip* had withdrawn himſelf into *Spain*) by the Cardinal of *Lorain* ſtill ſolicited the *French* King to arms againſt the *Spaniard*, promiſing to inveſt him in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Henry* upon theſe fair hopes undertakes it, and *Mary* reſolves to aſſiſt her Husband.

That *Mary* took arms in the behalf of her Husband, Pope *Paul* was much diſpleaſed. And being he could not be revenged on her (who indeed was the ſole cauſe of our breach with *France*) he determined to pour out his wrath on *Pool*, whom he ever hated; but now he thought he had more cauſe to manifeſt it, becauſe *Pool* knowing that this War was ſet on foot by the Pope, had by Letters and Ambaſſadors ſought to appeaſe him, and that (though with moſt humble reverence) yet roundly and according to his Conſcience. Having abrogated *Pool*'s Legation, he repeals him to *Rome*, and for ſupply of his place he creates one *Francis Petow* (a *Franciſcan* Frier) Cardinal and Legate, and a little after deſigned him Biſhop of *Sarisbury*. The Queen having intelligence of theſe proceedings, took eſpecial care, that *Pool* might have no notice of them, prohibiting not only this new Cardinal to enter the Realm, but all others whom ſhe ſuſpected to bring any Mandates to that purpoſe, and with exact diligence cauſing his Letters to be intercepted, by her Orators at *Rome* certified his Holineſs what a hazard the Catholick Religion not yet fully eſtabliſhed would incur, if he ſhould endeavour the diſgrace of ſo great a man, whoſe authority had been much availeable for the converſion of the Nation. But while there is this intercourſe between the Pope and the Queen concerning this matter, *Pool* having ſome way

Pool's authority Legantine abrogated,

1557. way or other had an inkling of it, abſtained from having the ſilver Croſs the Enſign of his Legation born before him, neither would he afterward exerciſe his authority Legantine, until by the interceſſion of *Ormaneto* the Pope's Datary in *England*, he was reſtored to his dignity.

and reſtored.

By this time the War was very hot on both ſides, *Philip* beſieging St. *Quintin* in *Picardie* with thirty five thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe, which number was after increaſed by a thouſand Horſe, four thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Pioners out of *England*; under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*. For the managing of this War *Philip* ſet ſail out of *England* on the ſeventh of *July*. On the tenth of *Auguſt*, the *French* endeavouring to put Succours into the Town are overthrown. The *Spaniard* chargeth the Conſtable *Montmorency* in his retreat, routs the *French*, and kills two thouſand five hundred: A Victory not ſo great in the execution, as in the death and captivity of many brave men. The Conſtable was wounded and taken Priſoner with his Son, as alſo the Dukes of *Montpenſier* and *Longueville*, *Ludovico Gonzaga* Brother to the Duke of *Mantua*, the Marſhal of St. *Andrew*, the Rhinegrave, *Roche-du-Maine*, the Count *Rochfoucault*, the Baron of *Curton*, with many other men of mark. The chief of them that were ſlain were *John* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Anguien*, the Viſcount of *Turen*, *N. Tiercellin* Son to *Roche-du-Maine*, the Lords of *Chandenier*, *Pontdormy* and many others, and in a manner all the Foot-Captains. *Philip* loſt only fifty men.

The French overthrown at St. Quintin.

St. Quintin taken.

The eighth day after this Victory an aſſault is given, and the Town carried by force, wherein were taken the Admiral *Coligny* with his Brother *d'Andelot*, (who ſhortly after made an eſcape) *Jarnac*, *St. Remy*, *Humes*, and many other perſons of quality; the Son of the Lord of *Fayette*, *Salevert*, *Ogier*, *Vicques*, *La Barre*, *Eſtang* and *Gourdes* were ſlain. Of the *Engliſh* in this aſſault few of note were loſt, beſide Lord *Henry Dudley* youngeſt Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, and Sir *Edward Windſore*, who were the firſt that advanced Enſign on the Walls.

This year is alike memorable for the extreme dearth and contemptible cheapneſs of Corn. A little before Harveſt Wheat was ſold at four Marks the Quarter; within the current of a month it fell to the low rate of five Shillings. Wherein I rather admire the enſuing cheapneſs than the dearth, having my ſelf in the year 1597 paid double the former dear price.

A nocturnal Rainbow.

But that which I ſhall now relate, I ſhould deem far more memorable, had I not in later times my ſelf ſeen the like. On the night which enſued the ſeventh day of *September*, almoſt two hours after Sun-ſet, the Moon having riſen an hour before, a Rainbow was ſeen in the Weſt. That I may relate the like accident though of differing time, the like apparition was ſeen by me on the four and twentieth of *November* 1604, when (the Sun having two hours

hours before declined to its loweſt) travelling towards *Colebrook*, the form of a white Cloud ſhaped into a fragment of a Circle, and juſt oppoſite to the Moon then newly riſen appeared, which did every way reſemble a true Rainbow, but that it was not diverſified with colours, and inſtead of the Sun had the Moon its oppoſite. 1557.

ANNO DOM. 1558. *REG. ultimo.*

Henry ſome way to repair his loſſes at St. *Quintin*, reſolves an Enterprize upon *Calais*, which *Senarpont* Governour of *Boulogne* perſwaded him was not ſo fortified according to report, but that it might eaſily be taken. The Marſhal *Stroſſy* having under the favour of a diſguiſe viewed the place, confirmed *Senarpont*'s aſſurance of taking it. *Philip* whether having intelligence of *Henry*'s deſigns, or elſe preſaging ſo much, had often admoniſhed the Queen to have an eſpecial regard to that Town, voluntarily offering his aſſiſtance for the ſecurity of it. But we over-wiſely jealous, leſt *Philip* had a practice on it, it lying commodiouſly for his adjoyning *Netherlands*, neglected both his advice and proffer. But the reality of his advice was manifeſted by the event. The Duke of *Guiſe* having by the King been declared Lieutenant General in all his Dominions, levying a great Army flies ſuddenly to the Siege of *Calais*, before which he ſate down on *New-years-day*, and intrenched at *Sandgate*. Then dividing his Army into two parts, he at the ſame time aſſaults *Newnambridge* and the *Risbank*, two Forts wherein the chief ſtrength of that Town conſiſted, the taking whereof would have cut off all poſſibility of relieving the beſieged either by Land or Sea. The Garriſons of each place terrified with ſo unexpected a danger, he at his firſt arrival gaines *Newnambridge*, and the next day the *Risbank*. The *French* then batter the Wall between the Water-gate and the Priſon, not ſo much out of hope to gain entrance that way, as to divert us from guarding that part of the Town, where they really intended to give an Aſſault. Having for a while battered that part, and we little ſuſpecting an enterprize upon the Caſtle, they ſuddenly with fifteen Peeces make a battery upon the Caſtle, and continue it with ſuch fury, that the thunder of the Cannon was all that day heard at *Antwerp*, which is diſtant from thence more than one hundred *Engliſh* miles. Having by that time night drew on made a ſufficient breach, and yet in regard of the deep Dikes filled with Water (wherein conſiſted the main hopes of the Defendants) not able to come to an Aſſault, the Enemy with great toil and labour by a cut from thence to the Sea draw the Dikes ſo low, that by that time the Tide was gone out, they march not above Navil-high through the Dikes to the Wall (which we little feared could be done) without reſiſtance: Finding the place void

1558. Calais beſieged by the French.

1558. of Defendants, they eaſily make themſelves maſters of the Caſtle, and had as eaſily taken the Town, if Sir *Anthony Ager* Marſhal of the Town had not with ſome few others made head againſt them, and forced them to retreat to the Caſtle, in which conflict that valiant Knight was ſlain. The Lord *Wentworth* Governour of the Town ſeeing little hopes of keeping the Town, craved parley, which was granted; and at length yielded the Town upon theſe Conditions: *That the common Souldiers and Inhabitants ſhould depart without tranſporting or carrying away any thing with them, and that Lord* Wentworth *with fifty others ſuch as the Duke of* Guiſe *ſhould appoint, ſhould remain Captives to be put to ranſom.* So was *Calais* loſt, which had continued *Engliſh* above two hundred years: neither was the Siege long, the Enemy ſitting down before it on *New-years-day*, and having it yielded up on *Twelf-day*.

Calais *yielded.*

Seven days after, the Duke marcheth toward *Guiſnes*, which Town he took without any difficulty, but the Caſtle, which the Lord *Gray* commanded, not ſo eaſily. But that and *Hames* Caſtle were at length taken alſo and diſmantled; ſo that of all the Kingdom of *France*, the greateſt part whereof was for a long time held by our Kings, and whereof *Henry* the Sixth had been Crowned King at *Paris*, *Anno* 1431, nor in the Duchies of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, the ancient Inheritance of the Kings of *England*, our Kings poſſeſs nothing, but the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, which have proved Loyal to us ever ſince the Conqueſt. While the *French* proceeded thus in *Picardy*, the Queen certified thereof with great diligence prepares her Fleet to tranſport Succours for *Calais*; but contrary winds kept them back ſo long, until *Calais* was irrecoverably loſt.

You ſhall not eaſily read of any Action, wherein God hath by more manifeſt ſigns declared, how diſpleaſing thoſe Wars are to him, which undertaken for Ambition or Profit do diſſolve the publick Peace: *Philip* (to begin with him) againſt whom *Henry* and the Pope did moſt unjuſtly conſpire, enlarged himſelf with a double Victory, each whereof were great and memorable. The Cardinal *Caraffa* and the Duke of *Paliane*, who for their own ends had perſwaded the doating Pope to throw the Ball of Diſcord between theſe Princes, were after for this very thing Beheaded by *Pius* the Fourth, who immediately ſucceeded *Paul*. *Paul* himſelf in the mean time, the *French* being overthrown at St. *Quintin* was expoſed to the mercy of the *Spaniard*, whom he had irritated, the *French* being forced to withdraw his Army out of *Italy*. The raſh violation of the League by *Mary*, was puniſhed with the loſs of *Calais*, and through grief thereof (according to common belief) of Life alſo. What happened to the *French*, who by the Pope's inſtigation firſt brake the five years Truce, we have already declared. And leſt it might be conceived, that his loſſes at and of St. *Quintin* were repaired by the taking

taking of *Calais*, another Overthrow given him within few months after, will take away much from the content of that Victory. 1558.

In *June* the Marſhal *De Termes* (who ſucceeded *Stroſſy* lately ſlain) Governour of *Calais*, breaketh into *Arthois* and *Flanders*, with an Army conſiſting of near about eleven thouſand men, leaving *Graveling* and *Burburg* at his back, attempts *Berghes*, takes it, ſacks it, and ſo opens a way to *Dunkirk*, which he alſo takes and ſpoils; and the Countrey all about (for they feared not the *French* there, and the Towns which the *Spaniard* held throughout that Tract, were ill furniſhed) lying open to their mercy, they ranſack it moſt miſerably, and march as far as *Newport*. *The Battel of* Graveling.

Philip was affrighted with this Tempeſt, fearing eſpecially, leſt the Duke of *Guiſe* then in Arms, ſhould joyn with *Termes*: But having intelligence that the Duke ſpent his time about *Arlon* and *Vireton*, he reſolves to intercept the *French* in their return. In this Enterprize he employs Count *Egmond*, (his Lieutenant-general in the *Netherlands*) who having ſpeedily out of the neighbour Garriſons of *Betune*, St. *Omer*, *Aires*, *Burburg*, and others, aſſembled an Army of fifteen thouſand, puts himſelf between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*. *Termes* had hitherto expected the Duke of *Guiſe*, but upon notice that the Countrey was up in Arms, he ſomewhat too late bethought himſelf of a retreat. He was now every way encloſed, and paſſage not to be gained but by dint of Sword. The *French* therefore valiantly charge their Enemies, and overthrow ſome Squadrons of Horſe; indeed deſpair animated them to do wonders, and the *Flemings* were ſet on fire by the deſire of revenging late Injuries. The *Spaniſh* Troops renew the fight, which was with equal order long maintained on both ſides: In the heat whereof ten *Engliſh* Men of War fortunately ſailing by (for *De Termes* had for his ſecurity betaken him to the ſhoar, hoping that way with much leſs hazard to have gained paſſage) upon diſcovery of the *French* Colours, let fly their Ordnance furiouſly among the *French*, making ſuch a ſlaughter, that they began to give ground, were at laſt routed and overthrown. *The* French *overthrown.*

The *French* in this Battel loſt five thouſand. Their chief Commanders were almoſt all taken; the Marſhal himſelf was hurt and taken, with *d'Annebalt* the Son of *Claud* the late Admiral, the Earl of *Chaune*, *Senarpont*, *Villebon* Governour of *Picardy*, *Morvilliers*, and many others. Two hundred eſcaped to our Ships, whom they might have drowned, but giving them Quarter, they were brought Captives into *England*. This Battel was fought on the thirteenth of *July*.

The Queen deſirous by ſome action or other to wipe out the ſtain of the ignominious loſs of *Calais*, about the ſame time ſet forth a Fleet of one hundred and forty Sail (whereof thirty were

1558.

Conquet taken and burned by the Engliſh.

Flemings) the main of the Expedition being from *Breſt* in *Bretaigne*. But the Lord *Clinton* Lord High Admiral of *England* finding no good to be done there, ſet ſail for *Conquet*, where he landed, took the Town, ſacked it and ſet it on fire, together with the Abbey and the adjacent Villages, and returned to his Ships. But the *Flemings* ſomewhat more greedy after prey, diſorderly piercing farther into the Countrey, and regardleſs of Martial diſcipline, which commands obedience to their General, being encountred by the Lord of *Kerſimon*, came fewer home by five hundred.

Philip about the ſame time lodging near *Amiens* with a great Army, *Henry* with a far greater attended each motion of his. They encamp at laſt, *Henry* on the North of the River *Somme*, *Philip* on the South of the River *Anthy*, ſo near to one another, that it might be thought impoſſible for two ſuch ſpirited Princes commanding ſo great Armies, to depart without a Battel. But divers conſiderations had tempered their heat. *Philip* being the weaker of the two, ſaw no reaſon why to engage himſelf. *Henry* had an Army which had twice felt the other victorious, and was therefore loath on them to adventure his already ſhaken eſtate. Wherefore they ſo entrenched themſelves, and fortified their Camps with Artillery, as if they expected a Siege from each other. Some months thus paſſed without any other exploits than Inroads and light Skirmiſhes. At length they mutually entertain a motion of Peace, both of them conſidering, that their Armies conſiſting of Strangers, the fruits of the Victory would be to the Aliens only, but the calamity and burthen of the Defeat would light on the ſhoulders of the Vanquiſhed, or (which comes all to one paſs) of the Subjects. Theſe motives drew together for a Treaty on *Henry*'s ſide, the Conſtable, the Marſhal of St. *Andrew*, the Cardinal of *Lorain*, *Morvilliers* Biſhop of *Orleans*, and *Aubeſpine* Secretary of Eſtate: For *Philip*, the Duke of *Alva*, the Prince of *Orange*, *Ruyz Gomes de Silva*, *Granvell* Biſhop of *Arras* and others. Much altercation was had about the reſtoring of *Calais*, which the *French* were reſolved to hold, and *Philip* would have no Peace unleſs it were reſtored to *Mary*, whom in point of Honour he could not ſo forſake. But this difference was ended by the death of *Mary*, a little before whom on the one and twentieth of *September* died alſo the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, which occaſioned both the change of place and time for another Treaty.

The Daulphin married to the Queen of Scots.

And if the continual connexion of other memorable Affairs had not tranſported me, I ſhould ere this have mentioned the Marriage celebrated at *Paris* with great pomp on the eight and twentieth of *April*, between the Daulphin *Francis* and *Mary* Queen of *Scots*. But the fruits thereof were not laſting: For two years after died *Francis* (the Crown by the death of his Father *Henry* having

having been first devolved to him) and left his Bed to a more auspicious Husband, *Henry* the eldest Son to the Earl of *Lenox*. Of these Parents was born our late Sovereign of ever sacred memory, who was Nephew by his Mother to *James* the Fifth, by *Margaret* the eldest Daughter Nephew to that wise King *Henry* the Seventh, who, the Issue of *Henry* the Eighth being extinct, as the next undoubted Heir, most happily united the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. 1558.

But now at length to draw nearer home, this Autumn was very full of Diseases, Fevers (especially quartan) reigning extraordinarily in *England*, whereby many, chiefly aged persons, and among them a great number of the Clergy perished. Of the sole Episcopal rank thirteen died either a little before the Queen, or some few months after her. Among the rest Cardinal *Pool* scarce survived her a day, who having been for some weeks afflicted by this kind of Disease, and brought to extreme weakness of Body, as if he had at the news of the Quens death received his deaths wound, expired at three a Clock the next morning. His Corps inclosed in Lead, was buried in his Cathedral at *Canterbury*, with this brief Elogy on his Tomb, instead of an Epitaph: *The death of Cardinal Pool.*

Depositum Cardinalis POLI.

He was a man admirably learned, modest, mild, of a most sweet disposition, wise, and of excellent dexterity in the managing of any affairs, so that he had been incomparable, if corrupted with the Religion of the Church of *Rome* he had not forced his nature to admit of those cruelties exercised upon the Protestants.

The Queen died at St. *James* on the seventeenth of *November*, some few hours before day. She was a Lady very godly, merciful, chast, and every way praise-worthy, if you regard not the errours of her Religion. But her Religion being the cause of the effusion of so much innocent Blood, that of the Prophet was necessarily to be fulfilled in her, *Blood-thirsty men*, &c. *shall not finish half their days.* For she was cut off in the two and fortieth year of her age, having reigned only five Years, four Months, and eleven Days; whereas her Sister, who succeeded her, most happily in a more mild Government ruled nine times as long, and almost doubled her age. Concerning the cause of Queen *Maries* Death there are divers conjectures. To relate what I find in approved Authors, it is reported, that in the beginning of her Sickness her friends supposing that she grieved at the absence of her Husband, whom she saw so engaged in Wars abroad, that she could not hope for his speedy return, used consolatory means, and endeavoured to remove from her that fixed sadness wherewith she seemed to be oppressed. But she utterly averse from all comfort, and giving her self over to melancholy, told them, *The Queen dieth.*

That

1558. *That ſhe died, but that of the true cauſe of her Death they were ignorant, which if they were deſirous to know, they ſhould after her death diſſect her Heart, and there they ſhould find* Calais: Intimating thereby, that the loſs of *Calais* had occaſioned this fatal grief, which was thought to have been increaſed by the Death of the Emperour her Father-in-Law. But the truth is, her Liver being over-cooled by a *Mole*, theſe things peradventure might haſten her end, which could not otherwiſe be far from her, and caſt her by degrees into that kind of Dropſie, which Phyſicians term *Aſcites*. This Dropſie being not diſcovered in time, deceived her Phyſicians, who believed that ſhe had conceived by King *Philip*, whereas ſhe alas did breed nothing but her own Death. So mature remedies being not applied, and ſhe not obſerving a fit Diet, ſhe fell into a Fever, which increaſing by little and little, at laſt ended in her Death. She lieth interred at *Weſtminſter* in the midſt of that Chappel which is on the North ſide of her Grandfather *Henry* the Seventh his Monument, where her Siſter Queen *Elizabeth* was after Buried with her, and over both by the pious Liberality of that moſt Munificent Prince King *James* hath ſince been erected a moſt ſtately Monument, well befitting the Majeſty of ſuch great Monarchs.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ANNO DOM. 1558.

HAving thus briefly run over the Reigns of theſe three Princes, Queen *Elizabeth*'s times in the next place offer themſelves; which deſervedly requiring a more accurate Style, I will here ſet a period to this Work, not ſo much with intent to pretermit them, as reſerving them for a more exact labour. In the mean time, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Reader, I will make this ſhort Addition.

Some few hours after the deceaſe of Queen *Mary*, the Eſtates then aſſembled in Parliament, on the ſeventeenth of *November* declared her Siſter the Lady *Elizabeth* Queen, who was Daughter to *Henry* the Eighth and *Ann Bolen*. Having moſt glorioufly reigned forty four years, four months and ſeven days, ſhe ended her Life and Reign on the four and twentieth of *March*, *Anno* 1603, the

the Crown being by her death devolved to the renowned King of *Scots James* the Sixth, to whom it was ſo far from feeling it a burthen to have ſucceeded ſo good a Princeſs, that never was any Prince received with greater Applauſe and Gratulation of his People. Many think their condition happy, if they exchange a *Caligula* for a *Claudius*, or a *Nero* for a *Vitellius* or an *Otho*. But that any Mortal ſhould pleaſe after *Elizabeth*, may ſeem a Miracle; and is a great argument both of rare Virtue in the ſucceeding King, and of a right Judgment in the Subject. For this great Lady was ſo far beyond Example, that even the beſt Princes come ſhort of her; and they who moſt inveigh againſt that Sex, contend, that Woman is incapable of thoſe Virtues (in her moſt eminent) Wiſdom, Clemency, variety of Languages, and Magnanimity equal to that of Men, to which I add fervent Zeal of Piety and true Religion. But in theſe things peradventure ſome one or other may equal her. What I ſhall beyond all this ſpeak of her (and let me ſpeak it without offence to my moſt Excellent Sovereign *James*, the Pattern of Princes, the Mirrour of our Age, the Delight of *Britain*) no Age hath hitherto parallel'd, nor (if my Augury fail not) none ever ſhall: That a Woman (and if that be not enough) a Virgin, deſtitute of the help of Parents, Brothers, Husband, being ſurrounded with Enemies, the Pope thundring, the *Spaniard* threatning, the *French* ſcarce diſſembling his ſecret hate, as many of the neighbouring Princes as were devoted to *Rome*, claſhing about her, ſhould contain this Warlike Nation not only in Obedience, but in Peace alſo, and (beyond all this) Popery being profligated, in the true Divine Worſhip. Hence it comes to paſs, that *England* (which is among the reſt of it ſelf a Miracle) hath not theſe many years heard the noiſe of War; and that our Church (which ſhe found much diſtracted) tranſcends all others of the Chriſtian World. For you ſhall at this day ſcarce find any Church, which either defiled with Popiſh Superſtitions, or deſpoiled of thoſe Revenues which ſhould maintain Profeſſors of the Truth, hath not laid open a way to all kind of Errours, groſs Ignorance in Learning (eſpecially Divine) and at length to Ethnick Barbarouſneſs. But to what end do I inſiſt on theſe or the like, they being ſufficiently known even to the *Barbarians* themſelves, and Fame having trumpetted them throughout the World. Which things, when and how they were done, how bountifully ſhe aided and relieved her Allies, how bravely ſhe reſiſted, brake, vanquiſhed her Enemies, I have a deſire in a continued Hiſtory to declare, and will (God willing) declare, if I can attain to the true intelligence of the paſſages of thoſe times, have leiſure for the compiling it, and that no other more able than my ſelf (which I wiſh may happen) in the mean time engage themſelves therein. 1558.

LAUS DEO.

D-Folio
B 300

42153

REPRODUCED FROM THE ORIGINAL
IN THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON
LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY.
FOR REFERENCE ONLY.
PERMISSION NECESSARY FOR
REPRODUCTION.